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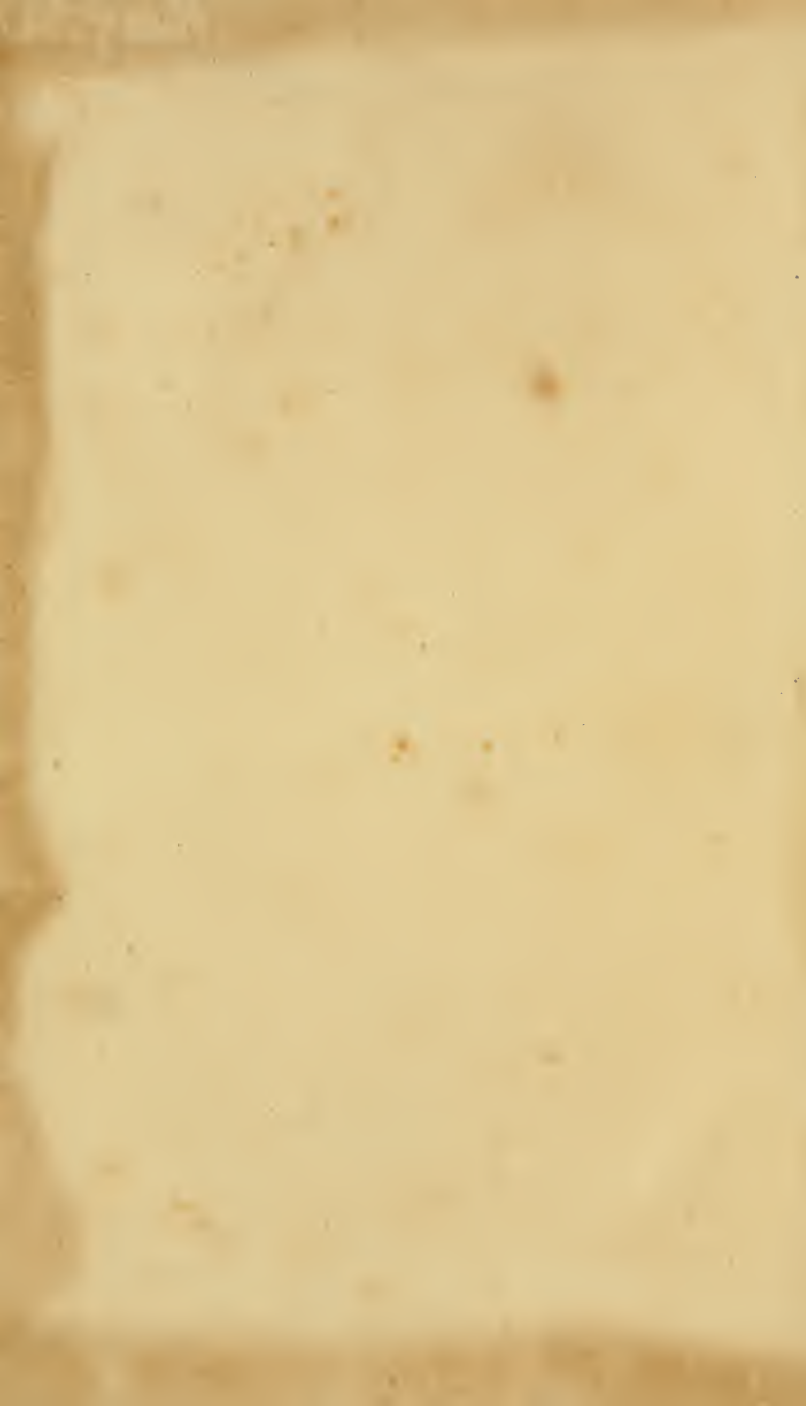
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THE  
MISCELLANEOUS  
WORKS

Of the late REVEREND and LEARNED  
CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D.

Principal Librarian of the University of *Cambridge*.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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A  
L E T T E R  
T O  
Dr. *WATERLAND*;

Containing some REMARKS on his

Vindication of Scripture:

In Answer to a Book, intituled,

*Christianity as old as the Creation,*

Together with

The SKETCH or PLAN

O F

Another Answer to the said Book.



J. R. T. E. R.

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A  
L E T T E R  
T O

Dr. *W A T E R L A N D.*

S I R,

I HAVE lately read a *Piece of yours*, called, *Scripture Vindicated, in answer to a Book, intituled, Christianity as old as the Creation.* I sat down to it, I confess, with some kind of eagerness; expecting from the great reputation of your name, as well as the great importance of the subject, to find in it something solid and convincing, answerable to the difficulty of the task you had undertaken, of reconciling *all the exceptionable passages of Scripture* to reason and morality.

But I had not entered far, before I perceived the vanity of my expectation, and foresaw the disappointment I was like to suffer in my hopes of entertainment and satisfaction from a work, which partly from its own nature, but especially from your method of handling it, seems calculated rather to raise *new scruples*, than to quiet *old ones*; and to expose the *Scripture you*

*A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing*  
*are vindicating* to fresh ridicule and contempt,  
 than to convince either the *Author* you have to  
 deal with, or any others of *sceptical* and *unsettled*  
 minds: the reasons of which opinion I shall  
 without further preface or ceremony proceed to  
 explain to you very freely.

Your *Introduction* begins by opening to us  
 the design of the *Author* you are confuting;  
 telling us, that *his book is a declamatory libel*  
*against revealed Religion, under colour of setting*  
*up natural Religion in its place*; that he disco-  
 vers in it *two principal ends*; *the one, to vilify*  
*the holy Scripture*; *the other, to magnify the law*  
*of Nature*: In the first, you own he deals *frank-*  
*ly and from his heart*; in the latter, you charge  
 him with hypocrisy and dissimulation; assur-  
 ing us, that all he says is *but flam*, and that in  
 reality he is no more a friend to *natural Religion*  
*than he is to revealed*.

This you support by declaring that *Natural*  
*Religion is so bound up in Revealed, that they*  
*cannot subsist separately*; *must stand or fall toge-*  
*ther*; and consequently, *if he had been a friend*  
*to one, it is not conceivable how he could be an*  
*adversary to the other*.

But this, Sir, I'm afraid, will make but little  
 impression on your adversary; will pass with  
 him for *meer begging the question*; meer words  
 without weight or consequence; or what's still  
 worse,

worse, will, when examined, be found to be false : for had not *Natural Religion* a subsistence before *Christianity* was ever known to the world ? and did not many by its sole influence attain to such an exalted degree of virtue, as few or none have ever since arrived at ? and at this very day in *Mahometan and Idolatrous Nations*, where *Christianity* has no influence, is it not necessary to imagine, that there are many, who by the meer *light of Reason* see through the cheat of the *popular Religion*, and by its help form to themselves some other more rational rule of life and manners ; and lastly, in our own as well as other *Christian* countries, however *inconceivable* it may be to you, yet all who know any thing of the world, will easily *conceive*, and actually find it a very common case, to meet with men who with little or no regard for *Revealed Religion*, yet express both by words and actions a great reverence for *Natural* ; of which number *your Author*, for any thing I know, or you have said to the contrary, may possibly be one : for since in every part of his work he professes a very *high notion* of the excellency of *Reason, Truth and Virtue* ; professes to believe a *God, a Providence, a future state* ; both reason and charity oblige us to look upon him as sincere, till we are forced to think otherwise by some particular knowledge or information of his real life and character.

But no thanks, you tell us, are due, to persons for commending *Virtue, which all the world admires, and envy itself must praise, and which even its enemies are forced to pay a reverence and veneration to.* Now is not this a little inconsistent, to charge men with a design to overthrow what themselves, and all the world besides, must necessarily admire and pay a veneration to? and though their reverence, as you say, is but an *aukward one*, and what they are forced to against their wills; yet is it possible to entertain a thought of destroying what the *nature and necessity of things* force them to reverence? What you mean by an *aukward reverence*, I don't well understand; but am certain, that if *aukwardness* be a mark of insincerity, then *Orthodoxy* must needs be undone, since I know none who pay *their reverence so awkwardly* as some of its principal champions.

You next explain the purpose of your own work; designed, you say, *to rescue the word of God from misrepresentation and censure, from the reproaches and blasphemies of foolish men:* and 'tis matter of *melancholy consideration* to You, *that there should be found men so abandoned and profligate, as to shut their eyes against light; affront God to his face; take a pride in throwing him back his favours.* But how melancholy soever this consideration may be, we ought not still, it seems, to be *shocked or scandalized* at it, for two reasons. First, because it was prophesied,  
*that*



*that there should come scoffers in the last days; yet all the instances you give are of such as came in the first days. Secondly, because it is certainly known with what views, and upon what motives they do it, being all an abandoned and profligate set of men; taking a pride in affronting God to his face; whose affections are corrupt, whose deeds evil; the secret of whose counsels is to steel mens hearts against a judgment to come, and lead them blindfold into Hell; whose real and onely aim is to reduce the laws of God to the lusts and passions of men; to shake off all religious restraints, that they may be at liberty to follow their pleasures, &c.*

But this, good Doctor, to speak freely, is not reasoning but railing; or, to use your own words [a], *shews more of a disposition to revile, than to argue and debate*; and till 'tis supported by facts and proofs sufficient to convince men of sense, will always pass with such for *the crude and senseless cant of Bigots*, the common-place stuff of declamatory Preachers: for every man, who has practised the world, and used the conversation of men of letters, must needs have met with many persons of much seeming honor, virtue, and sobriety of life, who partly *profess to have scruples*, partly an *entire disbelief of all Revelation*: and what way, think you, is the most likely to convince men of this character? Is it possible to work any good upon them by the

[a] P. 67.

A 4

method

*A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing*  
 method you here take; by telling them that they  
 are *profligate and abandoned, contemners of God,*  
*and enemies to Man?* Is not such treatment sure  
 to have a contrary effect? and being conscious  
 to themselves, that your charge upon them is  
 both *false and malicious*, instead of considering  
*your book*, as a *charitable attempt* to recover a  
 soul from ruin, they will reject it with scorn,  
 as an *infamous and scandalous libel*.

After this general charge on all who *cavil at*  
*Scripture*, you descend to fix it more particu-  
 larly on the *Author* you have to do with: this  
 you do, first, by citing *two passages from some*  
*private letters*, as you call them; signifying that  
 the intention of the writer of them was *to save a*  
*soul from the dismal apprehensions of eternal dam-*  
*nation; or from the uneasiness of mind which he*  
*is often under when pleasure and Christianity come*  
*in competition*. What *Letters* these are I know  
 not, but presume, that you have reason to know  
 the *Author of them* to be the *Author* likewise of  
 the *book* you are confuting; or else with what  
 sense or justice can you impute to *one man* what  
*another* has said or written? but you add im-  
 mediately, *this is the noble and generous aim*  
*which the Writer I am concerned with boasts of in*  
*his Preface*. This indeed is charging him home  
 with the *same sentiments*; if he not onely avows  
 them, but *boasts of them*: for who could collect  
 or imagine any thing less from your words?  
 but I was much surprized, when consulting his  
*Preface*



*Preface* on the occasion, I could not find a syllable of the *letters or passages* just mentioned, nor any sentiments at all like them, but the mention onely of a *noble and generous design*, in having, as he imagined, contrived rules to distinguish between *Religion and Superstition*. Such a disingenuous way of forming an indictment must needs appear odious not onely to the *enemies*, but much more to the *friends* of a Religion, which prohibits so severely all *rash censure*; prescribes the *utmost candour and charity* towards all men, and will not bear a *railing accusation* even against the *Devil* himself.

From charging him with *other peoples* sentiments, you come at last to convict him by *his own*: telling us, that *he gives broad hints in one place, that he looks upon incontinence in single persons as one of the rights allowed by the Law of Nature*. If by *incontinence* he means, what you seem to suppose, the *cobabiting of single persons of each sex for the propagation of the species, without the intervention of a Priest, or any other formality but mutual consent*; had his *hints* been still *broad*, they are but agreeable to the principles he maintains; nor will he find much difficulty in defending them by the *Laws of Reason and Nature*; and I wonder how from such *hints* you can ground any imputation of *immorality* upon one, who is reasoning from those principles, from which your self must be forced to allow still a greater licence; not onely

only a plurality of wives, but a number of concubines into the bargain ; unless you will give up some part at least of the Scripture you are vindicating, and condemn the *holy Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* ; and above all, *David, the man after God's own heart* ; who had at least seven wives, and ten concubines, without ever being admonished for it by any of the *Prophets*, or censured by any of the *sacred Writers*. So that here he will probably turn your own reasoning upon you ; that it is a weak thing of you, to charge the Law of Nature as not strict enough, when your own Scripture appears to be looser [a].

Again ; you charge him with declaring flatly and plainly against our Lord's doctrine of loving those that hate us : Yet in the place you refer to, I find him arguing onely, that those words are not to be taken in their strict and literal sense, but like many other texts of the same nature, which he there enumerates, viz. *he that takes away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also : of him who takes thy goods, ask them not again : whoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, &c.* must be interpreted agreeably to the reason and nature of things, and the common good of society ; and that to practise them in their obvious and grammatical sense would occasion much mischief to the public, much injustice to particular men : In all which,

[a] P. 90.

as he says nothing more than what *all Commentators and all rational Christians* allow, I cannot think it reasonable, from this instance, to charge him with seeking to *relax the Laws of Christ, to make them suit the better with corrupt Nature.*

But had he furnished no direct proofs of the *malice* you impute to him, yet your penetration, it seems, is such, as can see to the *very bottom* of him ; for though he *studiously*, as you say, *disguises himself, and takes great pains to put fair glosses on what he is doing, yet sometimes he discovers the very secrets of his heart :* and though in the same page you allow, that *he himself best knows how far he is influenced by lust and malice ;* yet in the very next words you recollect your self, and signify, that you know as well as himself, and that *'tis easy to perceive how much the black passions have got the ascendant over him.*

The conclusion of your *Introduction* is of a piece with the rest : for after declaiming against his wickedness, you conclude by contemning his learning and abilities. *His attacks, you say, are feeble, his artillery contemptible : he has no genius or taste for literature ; no acquaintance with the original languages ; nor so much as with common Criticks and Commentators : several of his objections are pure English objections ; such as affect onely our translation : the rest are of the lowest and most trifling sort, &c.* And in the  
body

body of your book you go still farther, and treat him with the plain terms of *Fool and Idiot*; as having neither *wit, judgment, learning, or any thing but dull malice* [a].

If this be really the case, what is *all this bustle* about? Why all this *apparatus* to foil so feeble, so contemptible an adversary? Why must you be called off from the great work of defending *Creeds and Positive Precepts*, to contend with such a *trifler*? Why must *two eminent scholars* be picked out from *Oxford and Cambridge*, to divide the task between them, and repel with united force the *despicable attacks of a pure English blunderer*? All *this apparatus*, I say, must needs persuade us, that you have a different notion of *his ability*, from what you think proper to declare: and, in fact, as all who talk extravagantly or insincerely are apt to betray themselves, so you in many places confute your self, and shew that these *pure English objections*, which owe their rise, as you would insinuate, to the *blunders of our Translation*, deserve to be considered in another light; since at some times you exclaim against them as being *stale, or borrowed from Antiquity*; from the ancient enemies of Religion, *Celsus and Julian*; at other times, from our learned moderns, *Marsham and Burnet, &c.* [b] and do not so much as in one single instance prove them to be grounded on the *mistaken sense* of the original.

[a] P. 31, 95.

[b] P. 27, 28, 55.



For my own part, to observe our *English proverb*, and *give even the Devil his due*, I cannot for my life discover any such want of *literature* as you object to him ; but on the contrary, see plainly that his work has been the effect of *much study and reading* ; his materials collected from a great variety of the *best Writers* ; his pages decently *crowded with citations* ; and his *Index of Authors* as numerous, as that of most books which have lately appeared : and to tell you the truth, were it my task to answer him in the method you have chosen, by undertaking to *vindicate every single text of Scripture from all the exceptions that may be made to it*, I should be tempted to wish that he had still *less learning*, rather than *more* ; since with the small share he has, one may easily foresee by the specimen you give us, that he will in many cases be at least a full match for you.

Thus much, Sir, for *your Introduction* ; which, if it appears to others in the same light, as it did to me, will afford them but little hopes of pleasure or edification in what is to follow ; but like foul weather at setting out, give a discouraging prospect of the dirt they are to travel through in the rest of their journey.

Let's now proceed to examine the work itself ; wherein you undertake to *vindicate the most exceptionable texts of Scripture from cavil and censure* :

*censure* : This, Sir, is a hardy undertaking, and what few men of modesty or prudence would venture upon ; since however it may be discharged, 'tis likely, as I've said above, from the nature of the subject itself, to do *hurt*, rather than *service*, to the cause of *Religion* ; as 'tis raking into *old sores* ; giving new life to *old cavils* ; solving objections which you call *stale and trivial*, by answers as *stale and as trivial* too ; for had these ever been satisfactory, the others could hardly have subsisted to this day. To confirm this, I shall not follow you through all the *texts you vindicate*, but content my self with a *few remarks on two or three* of the greatest importance ; in the explication of which you seem to have taken the greatest pains. To begin then with your vindication of the *scriptural history of man's fall*.

The *Author* you are confuting says, it seems, *that Christians are now ashamed of the literal interpretation of this story* [a] : which though you seem disposed to treat as a *Calumny*, yet 'tis certain and undeniable, that *all Commentators* whatsoever are forced in some measure *to desert the letter*, in order to make the story *rational and credible*. You tell us, with many of them, that the *Deceiver was a real Serpent, actuated by the Devil* [b] ; this you declare sufficient to *obviate all difficulties*, to solve *all objections* : yet *Moses*, you own, says not *one word of the Devil* ; nor

[a] P. 14.

[b] P. 15,

*had occasion to say any thing of him; nay, that it was better he shou'd say nothing of him, because he had said nothing of him [a]: but whether it were better or worse, it is certain however, that the introducing a Devil is contrary to the letter; which speaks onely of a proper and meer Serpent, as the author of this deception; and suggests the reason both of the attempt and the success of it, in the natural cunning of that beast. For the Serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field; and by his subtilty, says St. Paul [b], he deceived Eve; who in making her defence to God, does not plead that the Devil, which had been a much better excuse, but that the Serpent deceived her. You tell us, on another occasion, that God accommodates his Phrases to the language of men, in order to be better understood by men [c]: Pray tell us then, Good Sir, how he has accommodated his Phrases here; whether that he may be better understood of the Serpent, or of the Devil?*

*Now because the Serpent was more remarkably subtil, he was, you say [d], the properest instrument of the Tempter to deceive by; the best cover to conceal his fraud. But here again most people will be of a different mind: for 'tis natural to be jealous and on our guard against the counsels, to distrust all offers of kindness of the subtle and malicious: so that an As or a Dove*

[a] P. 13.

[b] 2 Cor. xi. 3.

[c] P. 30.

[d] P. 15.



must needs have been a fitter engine for *Satan*, under the disguise of folly or innocence, to have insinuated his poison by. And though you tell us here, that *the apprehension Eve had of his subtilty might make her less surpris'd to hear him reason and discourse*; yet in the very next page you declare it *natural to suppose, that for want of longer experience she might not know whether any brute creatures were capable either of reason or speech*. Can such shuffling and inconsistency, think you, have any good effect towards *rescuing the word of God from reproach and censure*?

'Tis the opinion, you say [a], of some very worthy and learned persons, that the Serpent was so like a Seraph, that Eve mistook it for a good Angel. The opinion indeed is very extravagant, that Serpents were originally in shape and beauty so like to blessed Angels, that it was easy to mistake the one for the other. But as extravagant as it is, 'twas embraced by Bishop Patrick, Tension, and many other learned men, to avoid what they thought the more extravagant of the two, the very opinion you maintain; which though you declare to have no kind of *difficulty or improbability* in it, yet Bishop Patrick treats as ridiculous and incredible [b]: and what reasonable

[a] P. 16.

[b] She was not so simple as to think that Beasts could speak—nor doth it seem at all credible to me, that she could have been otherwise deceived, but by some creature

sonable hopes can you have of *converting Infidels and silencing Scepticks*, by the force of a solution which our *best Commentators* and *orthodox Bishops* reject as *simple* and *foolish*?

But 'tis not *the extravagance* of this notion, but the easiness of it, that offends you: it spoils the whole story, by making it, as you say, *too easy*: this indeed is the true spirit of a *right orthodox Divine*; nothing *easy* will go down with him; nothing but the *marvellous* and the *improbable* will please him; and the good old principle *credo quia impossibile*, is with him the onely touchstone of a true *saving Faith*.

But is the *Devil* then such a *Hero*, that he scorns an *easy* conquest; nor cares to engage but where there's difficulty in the conflict? or is it inconsistent with the *goodness of God* to allow him a triumph so *easy*? 'Tis certain, that on some occasions he *transforms himself into an angel of light* [a]: and where could he ever have more occasion to do it than in the case we are considering? For if under that shape his victory was *too easy* before the *fall*, how much *easier* must it needs be now, in this *degenerate state* of man? If the *easiness* of it seemed then to reflect on the *goodness of God* for permitting it, how much more must it do so now, in *future* which appeared so gloriously, that she took it for an heavenly Minister. *Comment. on Gen. iii. 1.*

[a] 1 Cor. xi. 14.

*A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing*  
 fering him with all that advantage to attack  
 man when he *is down*, to trample on him when  
 he is *fallen*?

But to proceed ; though the *introduction of a Devil* may serve to clear up the difficulty of the *Serpent's speaking and reasoning*, yet it raises up a new one of a higher nature, which *your Author* charges upon it, against the *justice of God himself, in not interposing in so unequal a conflict*. This objection, how merry soever you may make with it, by laughing at *your Author's want of Spectacles* [a], is certainly of weight enough to puzzle and stagger our reason : and every man has a right to require from those, who pretend to be *guides and teachers of Religion*, how such passages delivered and inculcated by them, as the *undoubted word of God*, can be reconciled to the known *attributes and perfections of the Deity*.

Should a *Father* discard and disinherit a *Child*, for having deserted some post assigned him ; seduced either by the craft of some *old Sophister*, or driven off by the superior strength of some able bodied man, the *Father* all the while looking on, nor interposing at all in a trial so unreasonable ; wou'd not the fact be thought *barbarous and unnatural* ? Now the conflict in such case could not be more unequal than between our first *Parents and Satan* ; and

[a] P. 18.

the love of *God to his Creatures* must necessarily be allowed superior to that of *natural Fathers* to their *Children*. Yet you, Sir, see no kind of difficulty, and treat *the demand of a reason* on the occasion as a *vain curiosity*, and *impertinent cavilling* [a]: since every body, you say, must needs see *how kind and indulgent God was in this whole proceeding* [b]: whereas, to speak for my self, I cannot from the *literal acceptance* of the story, with all your *comment* upon it, see the least symptom of *any kindness or indulgence* at all; but on the contrary, a necessity of flying to *allegory*, to account for the seeming injustice and unreasonable severity of the *Divine conduct*.

But since in a question of this nature, both *your reason* and *mine* may possibly be suspected, as if *prejudiced by education, influenced by custom, or biassed perhaps by some interest* in favour of *established opinions*; I shall appeal to an authority, which cannot be charged either with prejudice or partiality, with favouring or detracting from the credit of *Moses*; one of the *greatest Masters of Reason* that *Antiquity* ever produced, I mean *Cicero*; whose sentiments declared in some cases, nearly allied to the present, may serve to inform us what *unprejudiced Reason* would determine upon the *literal history of man's fall*.

[a] P. 20.

[b] P. 19.



*Cicero tells us [a], that the very Gods of the Poets, had they known how pernicious their gifts would prove to their Children, must be thought to have been wanting in point of kindness towards them. What then wou'd he have thought of God's foreseeing the immediate fall of man, yet creating him to a state of sin and misery?*

He says in another place, *that 'tis unworthy of God to do any thing in vain, for that wou'd be a reflection even upon man's constancy [b]. What then cou'd he have judged of the formation of a Paradise, and all that apparatus and provision for the bliss and immortality of the first Pair; which was no sooner made than forfeited, and like a Theatrical Scene changed in an instant, to a prospect of misery and barrenness?*

Again, it is, says he [c], *the common opinion of all Philosophers, of what sect soever, that the Deity can neither be angry, nor hurt any body. How would he have been surprized then, to*

[a] *Atque is tamen ipsi Dii Poetici, si scissent pernicioſa fore illa filiis, peccaſſe in beneficio putarentur. Nat. Deor. l. 3. 31. Edit. Davis.*

[b] *Nec enim ignorare Deus poteſt qua mente quiſque ſit: nec fruſtrà ac ſine cauſa quid facere dignum Deo eſt, quod abhorret etiam ab hominis conſtantia. De Divin. l. 2. 60.*

[c] *At hoc commune eſt omnium Philoſophorum—nunquam nec irarſci Deum nec nocere. De off. 3. 27.*

find

find *God* represented here as *fierce* and *enraged*, driving out his own creatures *in anger*, from the blifs he had provided for them, and in a kind of *fury* cursing the very earth for their sakes ?

He claims on another occasion, *Ob the wonderful equity of the Gods ! wou'd any people endure the maker of such a law, that the Son or Grandson should be punished, because the Father or Grandfather had offended [a] ?*

How wou'd he have exclaimed then at *God's* punishing so severely not onely the *first Pair*, but *their whole posterity*, the *whole race of mankind* for their sin ; and even the *Serpent* too, for the fraud of the *Devil* ?

Lastly, upon mention of a dream of *Alexander the Great*, that a *Serpent* appeared to him, and told him where he might find a certain root to cure his friend *Ptolemy* of a wound which was judged mortal : laughing at the story, the *Serpent*, says he, seemed to talk to *Alexander* : this, whether true or false, has nothing in it ; since he did not really hear him speak, but seemed onely to do so [b].

[a] O miram æquitatem Deorum ! ferret ne ulla Civitas latorem istiusmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius, aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset ? De Nat. Deor. 3. 38.

[b] Alexandro loqui draco visus est. Potest hoc esse falsum, potest verum : sed utrum sit, non est mirabile ; non enim audivit ille draconem loquentem, sed visus est audire. De Divin. 1. 2. 68.

But how wou'd he have laugh'd at *your literal story*, of a *Serpent actually speaking and reasoning*, without moving the least wonder and surprize in the hearer ? These passages may serve, I say, to shew what unprejudiced reason wou'd have thought of the *vulgar history of man's fall* : and though you, Sir, can swallow and digest the whole, without the least difficulty or reluctance ; yet what *offence*, what *contradiction to reason*, is to be found in every *single article* of the account ?

'Tis necessary then, for the *satisfaction of our reason*, and the *quieting our scruples*, to desert the *outward letter*, and search for the *hidden, allegorical sense* of the story : where I shall not take the trouble of collecting all the fancies and whimsical solutions of the *Rabbins and the Fathers* ; but content myself with proposing one, which appears to me the most probable and rational of them all ; *viz.* that by *Adam* we are to understand *reason or the mind of man* ; by *Eve*, the *flesh or outward senses* ; by the *Serpent*, *lust or pleasure* : In which *Allegory* we see clearly explained the true causes of *man's fall* and *degeneracy* : that as soon as *his mind*, through the weakness and treachery of *his senses*, became captivated and seduced by the allurements of *lust and pleasure*, he was driven by *God* out of *Paradise* ; that is, lost and forfeited the happiness and prosperity which he had enjoyed in his innocence. All this is intelligible and rational ;  
agreeable



agreeable not only to the common notions and tradition of history, but to the constant and established method of *God's Providence*, who has wisely constituted *misery, sorrow, and the debasement of our nature*, to be the *natural and necessary effect* of *vice and sin*.

This interpretation is embraced by several of the *Antients*; particularly *St. Austin*; who tells us, *that the same thing is acted over again in every one of us, as oft as we fall into sin, that was represented by the Serpent, the Woman and the Man: for there's first*, says he, *a suggestion or insinuation; either by a thought or the senses of the body; by which if our inclination is not prevailed with to sin, then is the subtilty of the Serpent baffled and vanished; but if 'tis prevailed with, then we yield, as it were, to the persuasions of the Woman: and when our reason has thus consented to execute what our lust had moved, then is Man effectually driven out and expelled from all possession of happiness, as from a Paradise* [a]. Now whatever opinion *this Father* might on other occasions declare, (as he was not always very consistent with himself) yet at the time of writing the book, whence this passage is taken, he was persuaded, that in the *history of the creation and fall of man*, we could not avoid *absurdities and blasphemy towards God*, without giving up

[a] De Genes. contra Manich. l. 2. c. 12.

*A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing the literal meaning, and trusting wholly to an allegorical exposition of it [a].*

I have met with a *mystical Fable* among the Antients, not very unlike the case before us : *that Man having obtained of Jove a remedy, to preserve him in perpetual health and vigour, and prevent all the evils and infirmities of age, laid it on an Ass to carry for him ; but the Ass being very dry and wanting to drink, was cheated of it by a Serpent, guardian of the spring ; who persuaded him to exchange his load for a draught of water : and so the Serpent has ever since enjoyed the benefit of it, renewing its youth and vigour every year, whilst man is left to languish by diseases and decay [b].*

*Moses, we read, was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians [c] ; and their learning, especially in things sacred and divine, was wholly mystical and symbolical ; proposed always under the figures of men, beasts and birds, which were called Hieroglyphicks, or sacred characters ; in-*

[a] Si autem nullus exitus datur, ut piè & dignè Deo quæ scripta sunt intelligantur, nisi figuratè atque in ænigmatis proposita ista credamus, habentes Auctoritatem Apostolicam, modum quem intendimus teneamus — ut omnes istas figuras rerum secundum Catholicam Fidem — explicemus, &c. Ibid. c. 3.

[b] Nicandri Theriac. Edit. Ald. p. 17. §. 7. & Scholia ibid

[c] Acts vii. 22.

vented and used by them, as Kircher [a] has shewn, before *Moses's* time: amongst these, the *Serpent*, as all Authors inform us, was of more common use with them, than any other animal; whose nature they imagined to have something *very excellent and divine* in it [b]. So that it supplied the place of *two letters of their symbolical Alphabet*; and served them as an *Hieroglyphick* of various signification; more particularly as an *emblem of subtlety and cunning*, as well as of *lust and sensual pleasure* [c]. Whence it cannot seem improbable, that *Moses's account of the fall* might be drawn from principles and notions imbibed in his youth in the *Schools of the Ægyptians*.

Dr. *Spencer*, explaining this custom of the *Ægyptians*, of delivering all the *sublimier parts* of knowledge under the cover of *Symbols, Types and Emblems*, observes, that *when God called out Moses to his Prophetick Office, he considered him*

[a] Vid. Kircher. Obelisc. Pamphil. l. 2. de institutione & fabrica Hieroglyphicor. c. 2. p. 102, &c.

Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant. Tacit. Annal. l. 11. c. 14.

[b] Nihil inter Hieroglyphica Symbola Serpente frequentius—cum enim viderent Serpentem animal igneo Spiritu plenum, vivax, &c. fieri non posse crediderunt, quin aliquid magnum, excellens & prorsus divinum sub iis lateret. Ibid. l. 4. Ideæ Hieroglyph. p. 347.

[c] Ib. l. 2. c. 6. p. 131. It. Pierii Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 14.

*as one who had been trained up in that kind of learning; and that 'tis consonant therefore to the character and history of Moses, to imagine that God designed, that he should write and treat of all the sublime things committed to him, in that mystical and hieroglyphical way of literature in which he had been educated [a].*

The mention of *Ægyptian learning* leads me naturally to consider, in the next place, your answer to this *Author's* cavil against the *divine institution of Circumcision*; which he would insinuate to have been borrowed onely from *Ægypt*. This objection you make *slight of*, and tell us, that there is *no ground for it* [b]; and tho' *your adversary*, from the nature of his objection, must necessarily suppose the *scriptural account of Circumcision to be a fiction*; yet you very gravely spend two or three pages to prove that his notion cannot be true, because 'tis inconsistent with that *same Scripture*: from which you conclude at last, that the *Ægyptians had not any circumcision at all*. A likely method indeed to confute him, by excluding all testimony in the case; but what he excepts to, as *forged* for the very purpose. For you tell him [c],

[a] Cum Deus ad Munus propheticum Mosem evocavit, eum tanquam virum Hieroglyphicis Ægypti literis enutritum tractavit, &c. *De Legib. Hebræor. T. 1. l. 1. c. 15. p. 211.*

[b] P. 60.

[c] P. 56.



that neither Diodorus Siculus, nor Herodotus, nor even Sanchoniatho, can be of weight sufficient to determine this question; tho' some conjectures may be raised from the last of the three——

Which way the conjectures you hint at would lead us, I shall not at present examine; but am sure, that of *the three* you name, *Sanchoniatho*, on whom you lay the greatest stress, is on all accounts the *least qualified* or *worthy* to suggest *any opinion*, or ground *any conjecture* at all upon: and as I have a respect for the *other two*, whom I have read with some diligence, I cannot suffer *their Authority* to be thrown off *so slightly*, without spending a word or two upon it.

*Herodotus* tells us then, that *all other mortals*, except such as had learnt the thing from *Ægypt*, preserved their members as nature had formed them; but that the *Ægyptians* circumcised themselves for the sake of cleanliness [a]. And in another place, that the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* who inhabited *Palestine*, (that is, the *Jews*) confessed, that they had received the custom of Circumcision from the *Ægyptians* [b].

*Diodorus Siculus* confirms the same thing; that this practice was originally *Ægyptian*, and

[a] Vid. Herod. 1. 2. xxxvi, xxxvii. Edit. Lond.

[b] Ibid. civ.

that

*A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing*  
that both the *Jews and People of Colchus* derived it anciently from them [a].

*Strabo* too declares, that *Circumcision* was one of the most *famed and remarkable customs of Ægypt*; but *in use also with the Jews, who were originally Ægyptians* [b].

Now of all the Writers, who at all touch this question, these are the only ones I know of in antiquity, that can be called unprejudiced, and whose credibility cannot be liable to suspicion either of malice or partiality in the case: and 'twas the authority of these that induced the *learned Marsham*, and the *no less learned Spencer* too, to favour the opinion of your adversary; all which you still condemn as insufficient to ground even a *suspicion*, or raise a *conjecture* upon.

*Josephus*, who in his defence of *the Jews against Apion*, takes occasion more than once to mention this *testimony of Herodotus*, instead of censuring or attempting to confute it, argues from it as from a thing granted: *The Ægyptians*, says he [c], *are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh—wherefore Apion is a fool to*

[a] L. i. p. 24. Edit. Rhodomanni.

[b] L. 17. p. 824. Edit. If. Casaub.

[c] Εκείνοι τοίνυν ἅπαντες καὶ περιτέμνονται καὶ χαίρειν ἀπέχονται βρωμάτων, &c. Contr. Ap. l. 2. c. 13. Edit. Hudf.



*abuse the Jews, for the sake of those, who not only use the very customs he finds fault with, but who taught other people also the use of Circumcision, as Herodotus has informed us. And in giving the character of Moses, as of an excellent Governor, and wise Legislator; never using the great power he was possessed of to any advantage of his own, but the sole benefit of those who had entrusted him with it, &c. Such an one, says he [a], whose intentions were so just and noble, might reasonably presume, that he had God for his Guide and Counsellor, and having once persuaded himself of this, he judged it necessary above all things to instil the same notion into the people; that every thing he did was directed by the will of Heaven; not acting herein the part of a magician or impostor as some have unjustly aspersed him, but like the famed Lawgivers of Greece; who, to make their good designs the more effectual, used to ascribe the invention of their own laws to the Gods; and more especially like Minos, who imputed all his Institutions to Apollo and the Delphic Oracle.*

Such a declaration as this from *so learned a Jew*, in defending the excellency and pre-eminence of *his own Religion*, might teach us to entertain more moderate and qualified sentiments concerning its *divine origin*, as well as the *divine inspiration* of its *Founder, Moses*;

[a] 'Αλλ' οἷον παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀνχοῦσιν τὸν Μίνω γεγενῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομοθέτας, &c. Ibid. c. 16.

which

which whilst asserted in that *absolute and unlimited* sense, that divines of your zeal and principles contend for, will ever prove a stumbling block to men of understanding, and obstruct the advancement of religion, by making its Authority questionable and suspected.

But laying aside Authorities, let's consider a little on which side the probability lies: *Ægypt* was a great and powerful nation, famed every where abroad, and valuing themselves highly at home for their *wisdom and learning*; so that the *Philosophers* and Learned of all countries used to travel thither, as to the *best School of Arts and Sciences*: *Pythagoras*, we read, brought all his knowledge from thence, and complied so far, as to be *circumcised* amongst them, on purpose to procure a more *intimate admission into their mysteries* [a].

The *Jews*, on the other hand, were an obscure contemptible people, famed for no kind of literature; scarce known to the polite world, till the *Roman Empire* dispersed them; and then the more despised onely for being known; they had been brought out of *Ægypt*, according to the *Scripture account*, in such a manner, as could leave no impression in their favor in the

[a] Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἐξήνεγκε τὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης.  
Suidas. δι' οὗς καὶ περιέλεμετο, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom.  
l. 1. p. 354. Edit. Potter.

memory of the *Ægyptians*; or, as *profane Authors* say, had been expelled by them on account of some *filthy disease* [a]: Which then is the more probable; that a people valuing themselves so much on their wisdom, should borrow so remarkable a custom from a Nation they always hated and despised [b]; or that the *Lawgiver* of a *petty infant state* should copy that, as well as many other of his constitutions, from the practice of a *great and flourishing Kingdom*?

Besides, those who affirm *Circumcision* to be of *Hebrew original*, and thence propagated to other nations, have no one Author of Antiquity to support their opinion, but such as take up with it on the credit of a tradition derived from the *scriptural account* of its institution: and as they are destitute of all Authority, so they cannot agree either on *the person* who first introduced it, or the *period of time* when it was so introduced into *Ægypt*. Some ascribe it to

[a] Plurimi auctores consentiunt, orta per Ægyptum tabe, quæ corpora fœdaret, Regem Bocchorim, adito Hammonis Oraculo, remedium petentem, purgare regnum & id genus hominum ut invisum Deis alias in terras avēhere jussum. Tacit. Hist. 5. 3.

Dicunt Ægyptiī Mosē patriā Heliopolitem esse, unum e Sacerdotibus, ob lepram cum aliis pulsum. Jos. con. Apion, l. 1. 31. 26. Vid. it. Justin. l. 36. c. 2.

[b] Μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμενῶς διατεθέντες, κοινῇ μὲν ἅπαντες Ἀιγύπτιοι. Joseph. con. Ap. l. 1. 13.

*Abraham;*

*Abraham*; some to the credit and example of *Joseph*; others to *Jacob* and *his sons*, upon their settlement in *Ægypt*; others to the traffick and intercourse between the *Jews* and *Ægyptians*, especially in *Solomon's* time, who had both a *strict alliance* and *commerce* with them. Now tho' all these opinions are wholly groundless and irrational, yet none of them seems so improbable, as that which you embrace; that this custom was carried into *Ægypt* by *Abraham's* posterity the *Arabian Ishmaelites* [a]: for how can it be imagined, that a set of *wild Arabs* or *wandering Shepherds*, an occupation abominable to the *Ægyptians* [b], of all men the most barbarous and illiterate, could have authority enough with a *polite and learned Nation* to establish so *odious and painful a custom* amongst them?

*Moses*, as is said above, was trained in all the *learning of the Ægyptians*; which learning was employed more especially in the *study of Theology*: they were held the *first inventers of religious Rites and Ceremonies, of Poms and Processions* [c]. And where was *this learning* of his more likely to exert itself; where could we so naturally expect to see its influence, as in forming the *civil and ecclesiastical polity* of his

[a] P. 60.

[b] Gen. xlv. 34.

[c] Herodot. l. 2. lviii.



*new commonwealth?* But whatever effect it would naturally have, 'tis certain, that the strong inclination of the people for all *Ægyptian customs*, their eagerness to relapse on all occasions into *Ægyptian Idolatry*, of which we have so many instances in their history, would necessarily oblige him to indulge them, even against his will, in the use of many rites they were so fond of: his back was no sooner turned, than they prevailed with *Aaron* to make them a *Golden Calf*; which was nothing else but recalling the worship of the *Ægyptian God Apis*, represented always under that form [a]: and the setting up the *brazen Serpent* seems to have been done in condescension to the same humour; being an object they had been used to reverence in *Ægypt*; where, from the *Isiac Table of Bembo*, the *Obelisks*, and other *Ægyptian* monuments, it appears, that the *Image of a Serpent erected in that manner on a pillar*, had extraordinary honors and a superstitious veneration paid to it [b]. And in fact, we see many customs and constitutions in the *Jewish laws*, which are evidently derived from this source. The *Ægyptians* were governed by laws and customs peculiar to them-

[a] Videtur mihi idcirco Populus Israel in solitudine fecisse sibi caput vituli quod coleret; ut quod in Ægypto didicerant Ἀπιν & Μνῆιν, qui sub figura boum coluntur, esse Deos, hoc in sua superstitione fervarent. Hieron. Comment. in Osee Proph. c. 4.

[b] Pier. Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 14. it. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.



selves, and different from those of other nations [a]; were more addicted to *prodigies and miracles*, than any other people [b]; had *one High Priest*; as well as an hereditary Priesthood descending from Father to Son [c]; suffered no *blemish or imperfection* in the beast they sacrificed [d]; were superstitiously nice and scrupulous about *washing and cleansing* themselves; nor durst appear at divine worship when defiled by the *touch of any thing unclean* [e]; would not suffer any *leprous person* to come *within the City* [f]; abhorred *swine's flesh as impure and abominable* [g]. All which customs of theirs and many more, that we meet with in the *Jewish Law*, as they seem the plain effects of *Moses's Egyptian learning*, so they furnish still the more ground to suspect that *Circumcision* too might possibly have the *same origin*. Spencer on this very argument, declares, that *God, when he gave his Law, thought fit to tolerate and transfer into his own worship many customs and institutions which the people had been trained up to in Egypt, the better to accommodate himself to their humours and affections* [h].

[a] Herod. l. 2. xci.

[b] Ib. lxxxii.

[c] Herod. l. 2. xxxvii.

[d] Ib. xxxviii.

[e] Ib. xxxvii, xlvii, lxiv.

[f] Ib. cxxxviii.

[g] Ib. xlvii.

[h] Deum, cum legem daret, ritus & instituta non pauca tolerasse & in cultum suum transtulisse, &c. de Legib. Heb. T. 1. l. 1. c. 13.

From considering the *origin of Circumcision*, you examine the *Author's cavils* to the thing itself: who thinks it strange, *that cutting off the Foreskin* (not to be performed without great pain and hazard) could have been esteemed a religious duty acceptable to a good and gracious God, who makes nothing in vain, much less what requires cutting off, even with extreme danger and anguish [a].

In answer to this; as to the *pain* of the operation, you represent it as *slight and inconsiderable*, and make no more of *cutting off the Foreskin*, than the *Navelstring* in Infants so young [b]. And as to the *Hazard* of it, you condemn the very thought, and jeeringly call upon him for a list of such, as had ever died of it. And here I cannot but expect, that he will return your own compliment upon you: what; *no genius for Literature! no acquaintance with common Criticks and Commentators!* for the commonest of them all would have informed you, that the *pain of Circumcision* was not onely very acute and grievous, but the *Hazard* of it too so great, that it often proved mortal. *Spencer*, in the words of *Maimonides*, tells us, That it was not like a slight hurt of the leg, or burning of the arm, but a most harsh and dangerous thing, not to be un-

[a] P. 63.

[b] P. 64.

*dergone without some hazard of life [a]. And Lightfoot informs us, that the frequent mortality it occasioned, produced a standing law; that when any person had lost three Children successively by the operation, he was to be excused from circumcising the rest; in consequence of which there were actually many uncircumcised among them, who in those circumstances, were esteemed still to be in all points as good Israelites, and even as perfect Priests as any of the rest. This perhaps will startle you, who have talked so rashly on a subject you were not acquainted with; and you'll be the more surprized to find a Positive Precept suspended by human Authority for civil and temporal ends; yet you will scarce except to my Author, who was both learned and orthodox, and to him I shall refer you for the list you insultingly call for of those who had died by the operation [b].*

[a] Nam non est levis aliqua cruris læsio vel brachii adustio, sed res durissima & difficillima, nec sine vitæ discrimine quandoque subeunda. De Leg. Heb. l. 1. c. 14.

[b] You will wonder, reader, to hear that some Jews were always uncircumcised; yea, that some priests not circumcised ministred at the altar; and that without the complaint of any, and indeed without any fault—Very frequent mention is made in the Talmudists of an uncircumcised Israelite, and an uncircumcised priest—If the first, second, third son should die by Circumcision, those that were born after were not circumcised; and yet Israelites in all respects; Priests in all respects. Lightf. Vol. II. p. 760.

As

As to the other part of the *Cavil*, that *God does nothing in vain*; you answer; that the *Fore-skin was not made in vain*; that in *ordinary cases it was better to have it on, than off*; but for *extraordinary*, it was wisely contrived, that there might be *something to spare, something to cut off as occasion should require* [a]: A most *admirable Solution*; which amounts just to this; that had not *God wisely provided it*, he could never have ordered it to be *cut off*.

But since your *Author* is so impertinent in demanding reasons for every thing, I wonder you would not oblige him with some of those, which your *favourites the Criticks* have collected on this very occasion; which since you have omitted, I shall take the liberty to supply, by presenting him with one or two furnished by the *same Lightfoot*. The *land of Canaan*, says he, *was bequeathed to Sem by his Father Noah*; because *Cham and his Son Canaan had derided Noah's nakedness*: when therefore the land was to be settled on the right heirs of *Sem*; a *Seal and an Assurance thereof* is given in that member, which had been derided by *Canaan* to the loss of that land. This was a main reason why males alone were circumcised, and why in that member [b].

[a] P. 65.

[b] *Lightfoot*, Vol. I. p. 464.



He gives the reason also why it was to be performed always on the eighth day. That as there were seven Nations in the land, which the Israelites were to subdue, so every child of Abraham for seven days was like the children of those seven Nations; but on the eighth was to receive Circumcision, the pledge of his claim to that land [a].

'Tis a thousand pities that this *Adversary of yours* has no relish, as you say, for this kind of *Literature*; no reverence for *Criticks or Commentators*; for could he be brought once to this taste, we should soon see an end of all his *Scruples*, nor be teized any longer with the *impertinence of Cavils*. Thus where the *over-nice Gentleman*, as you call him, is pleased to cavil at *God's being said in Scripture so often to repent*; you tell him, that *there's not one Commentator of note, but would have set him right, had he been disposed to learn, before he set up to teach* [b]. For these *Commentators* would have told him, I presume, the very same thing that you do in the words immediately following, viz. that *God is unchangeable and repenteth not in a proper sense; but when he undoes what he had before done, or changes his first measures, as circumstances require, he is said to repent*: that is as much as to say;

[a] Ib. 465.

[b] P. 29.



*God is really and in his own nature unchangeable, unless when occasion requires him to be changeable; nor ever changes his mind, but as oft as he changes his measures.*

Strange force of *Prejudice!* that such a *jingle of words* without the *least mixture of sense* can pass with a man of learning, for a grave answer to an objection so important.

I shall next consider briefly your account of the *Confusion at Babel: a story invented*, as your Adversary would insinuate, *by the Author of the Pentateuch* [a], *to account for the variety of languages observable in the world* which he knew not how to solve by *natural causes*. But here again you tell him in your *usual stile*, that he has not *any reason or colour of reason*. As to the story itself, every one must needs own it to be a *strange one*: Some writers *allegorize* it, to a meaning quite different from the *letter*; others interpret it so as to exclude *all miracle* [b]: but whatever we are to collect from it, 'tis certain, that it has never made any great impression on men of letters, however pious otherwise and religious; who in tracing the *origin and antiquity* of the several *languages*, seldom think it necessary to run back to *Babel*; but find the

[a] P. 41.

[b] See Calmet Dissert. sur la premiere langue. p. 3.  
&c.

*A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing*  
 cause to be grounded in *reason and nature*; in  
 the *necessary mutability of human things*; the *rise*  
*and fall of States and Empires*; *change of modes*  
*and customs*, which necessarily introduce a *pro-*  
*portionable change in language.*

'Tis from these principles, that men of learn-  
 ing have in fact demonstrated the causes, and  
 deduced the history of *most particular languages*  
 from their source and origin; not onely of  
 those, which now obtain, but of such also, as  
 tho' once flourishing, are now no longer in  
 common use and practice; as the *Greek, Latin,*  
*Italian, French, &c.*

Many both of the Antients and Moderns,  
 have endeavoured to prove; that the *Hebrew*  
 was the *first and common language* of all, till in  
 process of time, thro' the influence of the  
 causes above hinted at, all other languages  
 sprang out of it, as naturally, as *many shoots*  
*from the same root, many branches from the*  
*same stock [a].*

As these observations are grounded on fact,  
 and the testimony of history; and *all the varie-*  
*ty of languages*, that have ever obtained in the  
 world, may be accounted for by ordinary and

[a] Ut scire possimus linguam Hebraicam omnium  
 linguarum esse matricem. Hieron. in Sophon. Proph.  
 c. 3. v. 18.

natural causes, which operate in the same manner at this day, and will always continue to do so as long as the world lasts; as this, I say, is certain, we cannot but allow that there's some *colour of reason* in your *Adversary's* suspicion, that the *Author of the Pentateuch*, for want of reflecting on the natural causes of this *variety*, thought proper to have recourse to *miracle* and the *intermediate interposition of God* in order to procure the greater reverence and dignity to his history. Especially, since without any *such miracle*, as all men of sense will allow, the same effect must necessarily have followed from the *very dispersion and propagation of mankind*.

But to examine your answer to this Civil. You say, that *Moses in that place is not accounting so much for the variety of languages (which was a trifle in comparison) as for the quick dispersion of the Sons of Noah over the face of the earth* — *Thorns and Briars were springing up every where, Woods and Thickets spreading themselves around, wild Beasts encreasing; and all this while the Sons of Noah gathering together in a Cluster and designing to continue so, instead of dispersing to replenish and cultivate the earth. God would not bear their loitering, but interposed miraculously; and by confounding their language, confounded their ill-contrived project [a].* What an absurd and ridiculous account of things is this?

[a] P. 42.

The *Sons of Noah*, it seems, had formed a conspiracy to frustrate the design of Providence in peopling the world; by *hanging together in clusters*; resolving neither to *disperse* nor *cultivate the ground*; and so must soon have been choaked up by *thorns and briars, woods and thickets*, or devoured by *wild beasts*, which were multiplying apace upon them, had not God miraculously interposed to prevent it. 'Tis well however for the *Scripture* you are vindicating, that it furnishes no ground for such a *vindication*; but that all this nonsense is purely your own.

For from the Chapter you refer to [a], 'tis evident, that the *Sons of Noah* were so far from any such resolution of *not dispersing themselves*, that they had already begun to *disperse*; had actually *sent off a Colony* from the *East to the Plains of Shinar*. About an hundred years after the flood, says Calmet, when mankind found themselves too numerous, to be able to continue any longer together, they resolved to *disperse themselves and send out colonies into different countries* [b]. For this is not to be understood, says Bishop Patrick [c], of all the *Posterity of Noah*; much less of *Noah himself*; but of a great colony of them; who when the *East* was much peopled, chose to go

[a] Genes. c. xi.

[b] Calmet Dissert. sur la premiere langue, p. 3.

[c] Comm. on Gen. xi. 2.



*Westward.* And again; *they continued*, says he, *in the mountainous Countries of the East, till they grew very numerous and wanted room; and then descended into the Plain, and some of them went westwardly.* And even those, who had marched into this *Plain*, were so far still from any thought of *hanging together in clusters*, that they knew and clearly saw that it would soon be necessary for them to *disperse* still further into other parts of the Earth, but had a mind, before *such dispersion*, to erect some *publick monument* of their common origin, by *building a City and a Tower that should reach as high as Heaven*; and it was the presumption and arrogance of this design, that induced God to baffle it by *confounding their language* [a], and to *disperse* from that place, without suffering them to finish what they had projected. This is all that can be collected from this story, by any rational method of interpretation: and the story itself seems introduced for no other purpose but to account for the *origin of the different languages* that obtain in the world: nor is there the least ground for the notion of their *hanging together in clusters*, and resolving neither to *separate themselves*, nor *cultivate the ground*: a notion wholly extravagant and contradictory to sense and reason: for were it possible for them to form such a design, it could not be possible to exe-

[a] Quoniam de poena venit multiplicatio, mutatione linguarum. August. de Civ. Dei, l. 16. c. 12.



cute it: a multitude daily growing cannot *hang together in clusters*; must of necessity *disperse*, in proportion to the encrease of their numbers; *want of room* will force them to seek *new quarters*; *want of food to cultivate the earth*: and you may as well tell us of *waters gathering together on heaps*, as of *multitudes gathering in clusters* to prevent their own dispersion. I know no animals, that hang so much *in clusters as Bees*, yet even these *disperse* themselves every year, and send out *colonies*, as oft as the *old Hive* becomes too narrow for the entertainment of their *encreased family*: the same nature, that pushes the infant forward from the *narrow womb* into the *wide world*, and from *childhood* stretches him out to *man*, will always oblige a growing people to spread and enlarge themselves as soon as their *clustering together* becomes uneasy and inconvenient.

I cannot imagine then whence you took this silly notion, unless from *the picture of Hobbes's Leviathan*; where we see just such a *refractory multitude* as you describe, all *clustered up together into one gigantick Figure*, as if resolved and prepared in that collected form to combat heaven itself.

After all; you conclude this article with great seeming complacency and satisfaction in the clearness of your solution; wondering what *possible Offence* your adversary can take at it,  
and

and defying him to furnish a *better, rationale* of it than you have given. But, pray Sir, what has he to do to give *any rationale at all* of a story, which he does not believe? Or should he frankly confess that he cannot find a *better*, yet I would not advise you to triumph too soon, lest he should reply, that 'tis for that very reason he rejects the whole story, because there's no *better solution* of it than yours to be had; and he cannot take up with a *rationale*, that has not a *scrap of reason or sense* in it.

I shall not trouble myself with following you any further through your Answers to the *Objections of this Author*: I have already said enough to shew the Truth of what is above hinted, that the task you have undertaken of *vindicating the particular text of Scripture from cavil and exception*; or *rescuing, as you say, the Word of God from reproach and blasphemy*, is much more likely to furnish matter for *new Scandal*, than *extinguish the old*: for this, as far as my experience has reached, has always been, and will for ever be the consequence of *this method of defending Religion*: since 'tis built upon a *wrong principle*, and proceeds upon a *system*, that cannot be maintained, *viz.* that *every single passage of the Scriptures, we call Canonical, must needs be received, as the very word and as the voice of God himself*. This notion, which you every where inculcate, as 'tis false in itself, so must necessarily lead you into error and

and absurdity, and expose you to the contempt and ridicule of all rational men, who can never embrace an *Hypothesis*, however confidently asserted, which they see contrary to *fact* and the *plain conviction of their senses*.

'Tis the Observation of a *late grave Author*, much versed in reflections of this kind, that there's no greater cause of modern infidelity, than that some opinions and rites are carried to such an immoderate height; as exposes the absurdity of them to all men of common sense; who out of indignation and an excessive renitence, not separating that which is true, from that which is false, are apt to fall into the contrary extreme, a contempt of all Religion [a].

And what better effect can we expect from your present *vindication of Scripture*, at every objection, you give the alarm; of *affronting God to his face*; *bidding defiance to the undoubted truths of God*; *runing into downright blasphemy*; *shooting up arrows against Heaven*, &c.? Your Adversary *cavils at Circumcision*; it is *fact*, you say, that God did require Circumcision, and who art thou that repliest against God? You tell us, that the *modest way* of opposing a Revelation, pretended to be *divine*, is not to examine the *internal merit* of its doctrines, but the *external evidence* of the fact [b]: but this is certainly los-

[a] Religion of Nature delineated, P. 60.

[b] P. 64.

ing time, and beginning at the wrong end; since 'tis allowed on all hands, that if *any narration* can be shewn to be *false*; any *doctrine irrational or immoral*; 'tis not all the *external evidence in the world* that can or ought to convince us, that *such a doctrine* comes from God.

For my own part, as I have no kind of interest to serve by the belief or establishment of any opinion, besides my private share in the good it may do to the Publick, so it is the study and business of my life in every enquiry, whether *Civil, Natural, or Religious*, to search for and embrace the *Truth*; or, where that is not certainly to be had, what comes the next to it, *probability*. And as in the present question, 'tis my persuasion, that this way of *vindicating Scripture* cannot possibly do any service, but probably much harm to the Cause you are defending; so I thought myself obliged by a regard to *Truth and the common Religion* we profess; to discourage, as far as I am able, the progress of a work, which is likely to be attended with such ill consequences: and if in *these Remarks*, (where I have endeavoured rather to shew the weakness of your reasoning, than declare any sentiments of my own) I have used any expressions of sharpness or severity, more than the nature of the subject required, they are not to be charged on any envy to your merit, or spleen to your Person, but to an indignation raised in me, to see  
see



see you *dictate so arbitrarily, and decide so dogmatically* in points of the utmost difficulty and uncertainty; and in questions where hardly *two Commentators* have ever agreed in the *same solution*, condemn all objections as *slight trivial*; as the meer effects of *ignorance or malice*; and bestow the titles of *Fool*, and *Idiot*, on such as differ from you in opinion, either of the *Authority or Interpretation* of the texts you are handling.

Yet after all, what *wonderful conviction* have you wrought; what feats have you done, towards *rescuing the word of God from cavil and reproach*? In the *history of man's fall*, you have fixed an interpretation upon it, which Bishop *Patrick* declares to be both *simple and incredible*. In the case of *Circumcision*; instead of shewing your *Adversary's ignorance*, you have betrayed your own; by denying that to be *painful or hazardous*, which for the *pain* of it was often *mortal*; nor allowing the *least colour of reason* to an objection grounded in *probability*, and confirmed by *express testimony*. Lastly, in the story of *Babel*, all that you have said is little better than *jargon*; *unsupported by Scripture*; *contrary to reason*; and must needs appear ridiculous to all men of understanding.

And now, Sir, I leave you to contemplate the merit of your great achievements; a pleasure which has, I'm afraid, been somewhat interrupted



interrupted by the roughness of this Address; and to shew my own impartiality, and that I am drawn into this controversy by no other motive but a sincere love to truth, and a sincere resolution to embrace it where-ever it is to be found; I shall proceed to use the same freedom with *your Adversary*, by sketching out a *Plan or rough Draught of such an Answer* to him as would in my judgment be the most effectual to confute and overthrow his whole Hypothesis.

The Design of this *Author* is to shew, that the *Christian Religion*, as 'tis now practised amongst us, is not onely *useless*, but *mischievous*; that the *Light of Reason*, or *Religion of Nature*, is the *only Guide* we ought to trust to; being *a perfect and complete rule of duty in all cases, both towards God and Man*; and consequently, that *Christianity ought to be abolished*, and *Reason* advanced in its place as the *Publick and National Religion*.

That this is the *main design of his Book*, there needs no pains to prove; 'tis evident to all who read it; and the *Author himself*, I dare say, will not deny it. On this foundation then, his whole scheme may easily be shewn, even upon *his own principles*, to be both *irrational* and *immoral*: *irrational*, because *impossible to be reduced to practice*; *immoral*, because, *if possible*, yet *pernicious and hurtful to the Publick*.

The first may be proved, by the testimony of all ages; which teaches us, that *Reason*, whatever force and strength it might have in particular men, yet never had credit or authority enough in the world to be received as a publick and authentick Rule either of *Religious* or *Civil Life*: this is allowed by all the great *Reasoners* of the *Heathen World*, and the experience of its insufficiency as a *Guide of Life*, is given by many of them as the very cause of the invention and establishment of *Religion*: that *the authority of the latter* [a], *might restrain those whom the former had been found too weak to keep in order. The life of man, according to Euripides* [b], *was once like that of beasts, governed by force and violence; laws were then contrived to repel injustice; but when these proved still insufficient, Religion was at last invented. By whose mysteries, as Tully observes* [c], *men from a savage life became formed and cultivated, as it were, to humanity.*

'Tis then a confessed *maxim of the Antients*, that *Reason* had not light or force enough to guide mankind in a course of *Virtue and Morality*: in consequence of which we find in fact, from the

[a] Ut, quos ratio non posset eos ad officium Religio duceret. Cic. Nat. Deor. l. 1. 42.

[b] Vid. Plutarch. de Placitis Philosophor. l. 1. c. 7.

[c] Quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem & mitigati sumus. Cic. de Legib. 2. 14.

*records*

*records of all History*, that there never was a nation in the world, whose *publick Religion* was formed upon the *plan of Nature*, and instituted on the principles of *meer Reason*: but that *all Religions* have ever derived their Authority from the pretence of a *Divine Original*, and a *Revelation from Heaven*. This our *Author* himself in many places acknowledges, declaring, *that there never was a time or place without some traditional Religion or pretended Revelation* [a].

Such an *universal consent* must needs be owing to an *universal conviction and experience of the insufficiency of Reason*; and seems to be the *voice of Nature* disclaiming it as a *Guide* in the case of *Religion*: and thus our *Author's Scheme*, by the confession of *all Antiquity*, and even by *his own*, must appear *foolish and irrational*, in attempting to set up that for a *perfect rule of life*, which from the *nature of things* never was or could be received as such in any age or country whatsoever.

Should he then gain his end, and actually demolish *Christianity*, what would be the consequence; what the fruit of his labours, but confusion and disorder; till some other *traditional Religion* could be settled in its place; till we had agreed to recall either the *Gods of the old World*, *Jupiter, Minerva, Venus, &c.* or with

[a] P. 184. 229. Christian. as old, &c.

*A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing the Idolaters of the new, to worship Sun, Moon and Stars; or instead of Jesus, take Mahomet or Confucius for the Author of our Faith? And hence may be demonstrated the immorality also of his Scheme, even upon his own principles.*

For should we allow *Christianity* to be a *meer Imposture*, on a level onely with all the *other Impostures* that have obtained in the world; it would not be difficult to shew from the *dictates of Reason*, that an attempt to overturn it, as 'tis now *established by Law*, derived from our *Ancestors*, confirmed by the belief and practice of *so many ages*, must be *criminal and immoral*.

The *Moralists of the Heathen World*, tho' they clearly saw the cheat and forgery of the *established Religion*, yet always persuade and recommend a submission to it; well knowing what mischief must needs befall the State by the subversion of constitutions so greatly revered by the people. *Socrates*, when condemned to die on pretence of *subverting the Religion of his Country*, denies the charge, and appeals to all who knew him, whether he did not constantly comply with the *Publick Worship* [a]. And *Cicero*, as our *Author* himself allows, often *presses upon his countrymen a strict observance of all the religious Rites established by Authority*, and declares *all those worthy of the last punishment*,

[a] Xenophon. Apolog. pro Socrate.



*who should attempt to disturb them. And tho' he was himself an Augur, yet he is so far from dissembling on that account, as this man foolishly insinuates [a], that he declares the whole business of Augury to be a meer fiction; and tho' it might have been received at first on an opinion of its real use in Divination, yet when that opinion was worn off, it was wisely retained for the sake of Government, and the influence it had on the peace of the Republick [b].*

The Athenians, upon rebuilding their City destroyed by Xerxes, enquiring of the Oracle, what religious Rites they should revive, were answered, such as the custom and laws of their Country had consecrated [c].

The Philosopher Protagoras having declared in a book of his, that as to the Gods, whether

[a] P. 396.

[b] Non fumes ii nos Augures, qui avium reliquorumve signorum observatione futura dicamus. De Div. 2. 33.

Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Clodius, & L. Junius, qui contra Auspicia navigaverunt—parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos repudiandus, &c. Ibid.

Existimo jus Augurum, etsi divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen postea Reipublicæ causâ conservatum. Ibid. 35.

Ordinar ab Haruspicina, quam ego reipublicæ causâ, communisque Religionis colendam censeo. Ibid. 12.

[c] Cic. de Legib. l. 2. 16.



*they really existed or not existed, he had nothing to say; the Athenians banished him their territories, and ordered his book to be burnt [a]. And 'twas the fear of the same punishment, that restrained Epicurus from speaking his mind freely on the same subject; and tho' he believed nothing of the Gods, yet obliged him in words at least to allow their existence [b]. Euripides too, as Plutarch informs us [c], when for fear of the Court of Areopagus he durst not openly ridicule the Religion of his Country, contrived to do it covertly under the feigned characters of persons introduced in his Plays. And when Diagoras went so far as openly to deride their mysteries, they proclaimed a great reward to any one, who should kill him [d].*

These were the *maxims*, these the *principles*, which the *light of Nature* suggested, which *Reason* dictated; and from these instances our *Author* may see how *his Attempt* would have been treated by a people the most famed for

[a] Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. 23. Protagoras, cum in principio libri sui sic posuisset; de Divis, neque ut sint, neque ut non sint, habeo dicere; Atheniensium jussu, urbe atque agro est exterminatus, librique ejus in concione combusti. De Nat. Deor. 1. 1. 23.

[b] Video nonnullis videri, Epicurum, ne in offensionem Atheniensium caderet, verbis reliquisse Deos, &c. Ib. 30.

[c] Plutarch de Placitis Philosoph. 1. 1. c. 7.

[d] Διαγόρα τάλαντον ἐπεκέρυξαν εἰ τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλοι, &c. Joseph. contr. Ap. 1. 2. 37. it. Snid. in Diagor.

*learning*

*learning and politeness of any of the Heathen World: It would have been thought worthy of the last punishment; his book burnt; himself banished.*

And this may serve withal to shew his ignorance of Antiquity, in magnifying, as he does on all occasions, the *moderation of Pagan Governments*, in opposition to *Christian*; that they *indulged an universal liberty, never persecuted for Religion, never quarrelled about their Gods* [a]: for he quite mistakes the matter; 'tis not the *Believers of Religion*, but *Infidels and Atheists*, who in every country have always been the *severest persecutors, and cruellest oppressors of all Civil as well as Religious Liberty*. For as this life is their all, they are the more jealous in guarding it; the more severe in suppressing every innovation in practice or opinion which might tend possibly to disturb their repose; this is the constant observation of all who are versed in history, especially in that of *the Jews*; where the *Pharisees*, however *strict* in the *Observance of their Religion*, were always *mild and gentle in the Seat of Judgment*; whereas the *Saducees*, tho' little concerned for *Religion*, were most *implacable and rigorous animadvertisers on every slight transgression of the Law* [b].

[a] P. 101.

[b] Joseph. Antiq. 1. 13. 10. it. 20. 8. it. de Bell. Jud. 2. 8.

Were *Christianity* then to be treated as a *mere Imposture*; on a level onely with the other *Impostures*, that have been received in the world; yet in this view we see plainly from the *dictates of Reason* and our *Author's own principles*, that an attempt to subvert it is both *irrational and immoral*: but should we consider it as the *best of all other Religions*; the best contrived to promote *publick peace* and the *good of Society*; and what our *Author* in his own book has demonstrated, as coming the nearest of all others to his *perfect law of Reason and Nature*; Then his crime will be aggravated in proportion, as he seeks to destroy a *better system of Religion*, in order to introduce a *worse*; since, as is said above, some *traditional Religion* or other must always take place, as necessary to keep the world in order.

'Tis the tendency of actions, says he [a], which makes them either good or bad; those, that tend to promote human happiness are always good; those, that have a contrary tendency, always bad: and this he declares to be a never-failing rule, to judge of actions by their tendency [b]: let's judge him then by his own rule.

The tendency of his book is to abolish *Christianity*, and set up *Reason* in its place; the thing it self is *impracticable*, the attempt therefore *foolish and irrational*;

[a] P. 345.

[b] P. 350.

The *tendency* of it is to disturb *the publick peace*, by overturning a *Religion* derived from our Ancestors; established by publick Authority; revered by the people; 'tis *mischievous* therefore, and *dangerous to the Society*.

The *tendency* of it is to abolish a *rational* and *well formed system of Morality*, to establish a *less perfect one* in its place; 'tis therefore *criminal and immoral*. Thus without entering into *particulars*, or undertaking to *vindicate all the single texts* excepted to, which can serve onely to *multiply cavils* and *perpetuate disputes*, our *Author's general Scheme* may at once be confuted, and that by the most effectual and decisive way of confutation, the consequence of *his own principles*.

The general doctrine, which *our Author* professes to establish, is, that the *Christian Religion* is *nothing else but a Republication of the Law of Nature*, and cannot be true and obligatory any farther, than as it *corresponds entirely with that original Law*: and for this he has produced the concurrent testimony of *all our principal Divines*, establishing the same opinion as expressly as he himself had done; and that they are sincere in this declaration, and actually practise what they preach, he himself allows and effectually proves in many instances. *I have shewn you*, says he [a],

[a] P. 262.



*A Letter to Dr. WATERLAND, containing by a number of instances, where Divines themselves own, that though the literal sense of Scripture be ever so plain, yet it must not stand in competition with what our Reason tells us, &c. And again, Do not all interpret Scripture so, as to make it agreeable to the touchstone of all Religion, the Nature and Reason of things [a]?*

What's the meaning then of all this clamour? What is it that he quarrels at? Our *Divines* not onely agree with him in his *general principle*, but actually put it in execution, and reduce it to practice. Why, because there are still behind a *few things*, (mark the expression, for 'tis *his own*) a *few onely*, which their *superstition* has made them interpret otherwise [b]. This is the ground of all that spleen, which he so frankly exerts against the *whole order of Priests*; that tho' they agree with him almost in *every thing*, yet dare to differ from him in *any thing*; and presume to interpret a *few things* so, as not to satisfy his *supreme and perfect Reason*.

Here we see a specimen of his *candor* and *equity*; here the fruits of that *benevolent principle*, that *charitable Religion*, which the *light of Reason* prescribes; that *Governments must be dissolved, Churches dissolved, Priests proscribed*, because they will not in every point submit to his *infallible Reason*. What he says of Dr. Rogers

[a] P. 425.

[b] P. 347.



may much more justly be applied to himself. *The Doctor is against the Pope of Rome, but 'tis to set himself up in his stead [a].* For the *Pope*, we know, indulges his followers in many *particular Superstitions* of their own, if they will but swallow the *main and gross* of his doctrines; but this *rational Protestant* will not suffer even his *Teachers*, tho' agreeing with him in the *main*, to dissent from him in a *few particulars*. And *is not this*, to use his own words, *Popery, even worse than Roman Popery [b]?*

The *fundamental maxim* on which his whole attempt and all his hopes of success from it seems to rest, is, that *God cannot enjoin as a part of Religion, any arbitrary or positive precepts*, which do not directly flow from *the reason and nature of things*: or what comes to the same, that he cannot oblige us to any thing as a duty, whose *natural excellency and tendency to Morality* we do not immediately discover by *Reason and the Light of Nature*. This is the *main article* of his *rational Creed*; this the *single point*, as he says, *that must decide the question [c]*; for which reason I thought it necessary to spend a word or two upon it.

And here again, instead of squabbling with him about the real or comparative excellency

[a] P. 306.

[b] P. 307.

[c] P. 114.

of *the Precepts* he refers to, I shall pursue the same method, of turning *his own artillery* upon him, and endeavour by his own reasoning to confute *this favourite position* of his; which may be done, I think, by the *very arguments* he makes use of to establish it. Of which I shall produce two instances.

The first is an argument formed from the *similar conduct* of God towards us, in the contrivance of his *visible Works*, and of *his Laws*. If God's Works, says he [a], *shew infinite Wisdom, there's no reason to imagine but that his Laws do the same, &c.* And in concluding the argument, God forbid, *that any of his Laws have not impressed on them the same character of the highest Wisdom and Goodness, that is impressed on the whole frame of Nature, and on every part of it.*

Now to prove any thing from these premises, the argument ought to run thus: *God forbid, that in the whole frame of God's Laws there should not be the same proof of his Wisdom as in the whole frame of his Works.* This is the onely conclusion that can be drawn from a comparison of *his Laws* and *Works*; in which every rational Christian must needs have agreed with him. But then this is so far from proving what he infers from it, that it proves just the con-

[a] P. 124.

trary, and overturns the *main principle* of his book. For though the wise of all ages have from the *excellency of God's Works* collected the *excellency of his Nature*; yet in those *very Works*, generally so excellent, all still agree, that there are some *particulars*, not only whose nature, but whose use or reason of existence cannot be discovered by the most curious searchers into Nature; nay, some things which, considered separately, appear even *noxious* to the rest; all which, tho' not understood, are yet reasonably presumed to be good and perfect in their several kinds, and subservient to the general beauty and excellency of the *whole System*.

The case, we allow, is exactly the same with *God's Laws*; which, though in general they demonstrate the *infinite Wisdom of their Author*, yet may in some particulars be so contrived, as that the natural excellency of them cannot easily be apprehended. For were it otherwise, 'tis certain, that God would act *differently* with us, in the dispensation of *his Works* and of *his Laws*, in both which this Writer contends for *the necessity of a similar conduct*.

'Tis then full as unreasonable to charge all *positive precepts*, supposed to be from God, that is, all whose *use and relation to Morality we cannot comprehend*, to fraud and imposture; as in the *visible Works of God* to impute every thing we do not understand, or even every thing that seems *hurtful*, to the contrivance of some *malicious*

*licious Power, opposite to the Divine Nature. And as on the one hand we do not exclude from the catalogue of God's Works all those particulars, in which we cannot trace the marks of Divine Wisdom; so on the other, we cannot exclude from the body of his Laws, those few injunctions, which seem not to have impressed on them the legible characters of Morality.*

The second argument is in the following paragraph, and runs thus. 'Tis impossible, says he [a], that men should have any just idea of the perfections of God, who think that the dictates of infinite Wisdom do not carry their own evidence with them; or are not by their own innate worth discoverable to all mankind: were it not so how could they be distinguished from the uncertain opinions of weak and fallible men? &c. This indeed seems opposite to what the Scripture informs us of the counsels of God: that his ways are not as man's ways, but unsearchable and past finding out: and 'tis not contrary onely to Scripture, but to Reason too: for what difference could there be in Nature between perfect and imperfect; finite and infinite knowledge; if the finite could clearly discover every purpose of the infinite? Both Reason and Scripture teach us, that God knows and sees thro' the heart of man; but no man's reason before this ever taught, that Man knows and sees thro' the heart of God: that man,

[a] P. 125.



whose knowledge is so narrow even in the common concerns of life, can *fathom all the counsels, interpret all the laws* of an infinitely wise Creator. Thus his own argument turns against himself. *If the dictates of infinite Wisdom, says he, are not discoverable to all mankind, how could they be distinguished from the opinions of fallible men?* Whereas on the contrary, were it true what he contends for, it would be more difficult to *distinguish* them: for if all the *designs of God* were as discoverable to man, as man's are to God, he might well say, *where's the distinction?* But there's no one truth more certain, or flowing more necessarily from the *reason and nature of things*, that tho' God perfectly understands every purpose of man, yet that there not *only* may be, but really are many things, effected by his power and ordained by his will, which *Man* is not *capable of comprehending*.

This is the substance of what I would propose for an *Answer to this Author*; which when explained more at large, and filled out by proper testimonies and authorities of other Writers, might be sufficient to confute his *general Scheme*, as well as the *fundamental principle* on which 'tis built. But to shew farther that whatever be the real excellency and perfection of *Reason*, yet *his reason* at least is very *defective and imperfect*, and can have no pretence to set up for a *Guide in Religion*; many instances may occasionally be interspersed:

I. Of



1. Of his *blunders in points of History*: for tho' he often affirms, that *Heathenism* never taught men to quarrel about Religion, except in Egypt; nor ever raged to that degree, as to occasion bloodshed, wars, and persecution; yet History would teach him, that the politest people, as well as the greatest lovers of liberty, of the *Heathen World*, the Greeks, had their *Holy Wars*, their *Solemn Leagues and Covenants*, as well as *Christian Zealots*: particularly one against the *Phocensians*, of which *Philip of Macedon* was chosen Head [a].

2. Of his *inconsistency* with himself; when at some times to blacken the *present state of the Church*, he appeals to the *primitive Ages and primitive Fathers* as actuated by quite different principles of *piety and simplicity* [b]: at other times, to blacken the *whole state of Religion*, he reflects upon *those very Ages*, held, as he says, for the purest, as the most impure and corrupt of all, and that the farther we go back, the more frauds we shall find [c]. In the same manner, to make the *Christian Priest* more odious, he

[a] Demosthenis Orat. contra Æschin. p. 95. Edit. Foulkes & Friend. Incredibile quantum ea res gloriæ Philippo dedit; illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem Religionum, &c. Just. Hist. 1. 8.

[b] P. 109, 313. 319.

[c] P. 162.

represents the *Pagan and Mahometan Priests* as very Saints in comparifon; at leaft as harmlefs innocent creatures, who *never did any mischief* [a]. Yet at other times, to make the *very character and name of Priest* abominable, he declares them to be *all alike; all equally wicked; of all Religions the fame* [b].

3. Of his *malice to the Clergy*; whom he defcribes every where as an *Order of men profligate and abandoned to wickednefs; inconsistent with the good of fociety; irreconcilable enemies to reafon; confpirators againft the liberty and property of mankind* [c]: whilst yet he fhews by many instances, that the whole employment of their profeflion is to *explain Chriftianity fo as to make it agreeable to the reafon and nature of things*: as if thofe could be *enemies to Reafon*, who are constantly *preaching it up*.

4. Laftly, of his *obftinate perfeverance in errors*, once embraced: this appears from *his repeated charge of forgery on the Church, in the cafe of the 20th Article* [d]: tho' the charge has fo oft been confuted and fhewn to be groundlefs by fuch undeniable evidence as can leave no farther room for fcruples with any reasonable man.

[a] P. 108.

[b] P. 233, 282, 160.

[c] P. 47, 108, 160, 163, 164, 180, 241, 281, &c.

[d] P. 160.

Thus, Sir, I have *sketched out the rough draught* of *such an Answer* to this Author, as in my judgment is the most likely to destroy his credit with all who pretend to reason: my comfort at least is, that if it does no good, it cannot do any harm: whereas in your method of treating the controversy, you run *too great a risk*; *expose Religion to too great hazard*; and engage on *too great odds* with your Antagonist. For should he fail in his attempt, he loses nothing but reputation by being baffled, nor hurts the general cause of reason by exposing the weakness of his own. But the case is different with you; 'tis *the cause of Religion*, that rests on your shoulders; and the success of it in some measure depends, on the success of your performance: for whilst you excite the attention of the Nation to your *Vindication of Scripture*, should that *Vindication* fail in any part, you so far expose the *Scripture itself* to contempt; give a real triumph to its enemies; confirm them in their infidelity; and inject probably new scruples where none had been entertained before. Leaving it therefore to your serious consideration, whether you ought to proceed any further in so hazardous an undertaking,

*I am, &c.*

A D E-

A  
D E F E N C E  
O F T H E  
L E T T E R  
T O  
Dr. *WATERLAND*;

Against the false and frivolous Cavils of

The AUTHOR of the REPLY.

———*Fragili quærens illidere dentem*  
*Offendet solido*———HOR.





A  
D E F E N C E  
O F T H E  
L E T T E R  
T O

Dr. *WATERLAND*, &c.

*S I R,*

'**T**IS with no small reluctance that I have prevail'd with myself at last to take notice of *your Reply to my Letter to Dr. Waterland*: Your Criticisms upon it are either so trifling, or so false, that I was perfectly secure of their making any impressi<sup>o</sup>n to my disadvantage on men of sense or learning: and as it has been my care, in what I have hitherto offer'd to the Publick, to consult both the profit and pleasure of my Reader, so I was loth to sit down to a Controversy unlikely to afford either; to dispute onely about words, and squabble about the grammatical construction of separate Scraps and Quotations.

However, since nothing else that deserves the least attention has appear'd on the occasion but *this Reply* of yours, which by the solemn gravity of its stile, and the air of authority it breathes, may possibly pass with some for a learned and judicious performance, I have thought proper to give it a particular examination; especially as it will afford me an opportunity of explaining myself more clearly in some points where, contrary to my intention, I may perhaps have given offence; and of opening by the way some questions of great importance, toward settling Christianity on its true and natural foundation.

The clamour you raise against me is for *attempting to weaken the authority of Moses*, and your Title page like an Alarm bell gives warning thro' the Nation of an Enemy gone out to lay waste and destroy Revelation, and propagate Infidelity; and yet I defy you to shew any thing advanced in *my Letter*, for which I have not the authority of the best and most rational Apologists, both ancient and modern, as well of the *Jewish* as *Christian Religion*. 'Tis not my design to destroy or weaken any thing but those senseless systems and prejudices, which some stiff and cloudy Divines will needs fasten to the body of Religion, as necessary and essential to the support of it. For in this age of Scepticism, where Christianity is so vigorously  
attacked,

attacked, and as it were closely besieged, the true way of defending it, is not to enlarge the compass of its fortifications, and make more help necessary to its defence, than it can readily furnish; but like skilful Engineers, to demolish its weak outworks, that serve onely for shelter and lodgment to the enemy, whence to batter it the more effectually, and draw it within the compass of its firm and natural entrenchments, which will be found in the end impregnable.

You say, that *Dr. Waterland's character as a learned and rational advocate for Christianity drew down the weight of my wit and reading upon him, and that he had done too much good, not to receive ill at the hands of the favourers of Infidelity* [a]. But is not this both rash and uncharitable, to assert so roundly what you cannot know to be true; that the ground of my quarrel to the Doctor is *the good he was doing Christianity*? 'Tis possible, Sir, that my name may not always continue a secret, and whenever I shall have the honour of being known to you, if I be not thought incapable of quarrelling with any man for *the good he does*; and if my life be not found as exemplary and agreeable to the rules of the Gospel, as that of the most zealous champion of you all; then will I allow every thing you can say or suspect of me to be just and reasonable.

[a] Reply, P. 6.

In the mean while I condemn your groundless charge of *Infidelity*; declare myself a *true friend to Christianity*; which I am able, I think, to defend by principles much more rational and consistent than those you seem possessed of; as will appear very clear in the sequel of this controversy. And I must withal declare, that I have no quarrel at all to Dr. *Waterland*, but on the contrary a great respect for his known learning and abilities; am persuaded onely, that whatever good he designed, his way of defending Scripture is very sure of doing mischief to the common Religion we profess: this I have shewn in *my Letter* to him by several instances, and could have shewn it in as many more had it been necessary, with no other view, than to divert him from pursuing a method of defence so dangerous to the cause he was vindicating: but since my Remonstrance has made no impresson on him; and he has now thought fit to second the blow he had given, tho' I am still the more confirmed by his last performance in the sentiments I had declared of the first, yet I shall hardly give myself or him any farther trouble, as it could serve onely to illustrate and spread the scandal already given, by collecting and pointing it out to the Reader; which I have no inclination to do any farther than I may be obliged to it by the Doctor or Yourself in vindication of my own credit and judgment.

In



In all Controversies about Religion, the chief provocation to men of sense is to see a set of rash, dogmatical Divines, whose minds, prepossessed with systems, and darkened with prejudices, could never see thro' the mists their Nurseries and Mothers had spread about their eyes, setting themselves up for the only guides and teachers of truth to the Nation; requiring the learning and reason of mankind to submit to their arbitrary decisions, and branding with the name of *Sceptick and Infidel*, all who cannot admit their manner of explaining and defining the terms of Christian Faith. Such Divines as these are so far from acting up to the character they assume, of *Physicians of the soul*, by shewing any care to gild the pill they prescribe, and temper their medicines to the state and condition of the Patient, that they expect to treat rational creatures, as Farriers do their Horses, tie them up by the nose, and so make them swallow whatever they think fit to throw down: These are the men I shall ever quarrel with, as the Tyrants and Oppressors of Reason and Conscience, and consequently enemies to the peace and happiness of mankind.

But 'tis time to open the state of our present Controversy: *Your business*, you say [a], *with me is not to enter into dispute about the Reasonings*

[a] Reply, p. 6.



advanced in my Letter, but to set before me and expostulate with me about the many falsehoods it abounds with, both in quotations and historical facts. And here we see the first specimen of your art and insincerity; for tho' you pretend not to meddle at all with my Reasonings, yet a great part of your performance is wholly employed in examining them: nor do you ever omit the least opportunity of cavilling at them, as far as you dare venture, which is generally out of your depth, as we shall frequently see in the progress of this dispute: But 'twas prudent to secure a retreat beforehand, that whenever you come to be push'd, you might shelter yourself under this previous declaration, that it was not my Reasonings, but my Quotations you had undertaken to attack.

Again, as to the many falsehoods of my Quotations, you betray at setting out a strange disingenuity, for you undertake to convict me of having hardly made one original Quotation of an Author in his true sense, very often in a sense most opposite to the true one [a]. A compleat victory indeed! not to leave one Quotation alive! not to let a single one escape, but to treat these Rebels to Religion, like Catiline's Rebels to the State, mow them all down in the very ranks where they stand. But this is pursuing onely the old rule Calumny; to calumniate strongly, without

[a] Reply, p. 7.

any regard to truth, that something at last may stick : for tho' you wou'd prepossess the Reader with the notion, that I have not represented so much as *one Quotation truly* ; yet out of about *four score*, which are referred to in my *short Letter*, all you pretend to criticise are but *fifteen* ; and of this number *two* are thrown in merely to enhance the reckoning, and do not at all relate to *my Quotations*, but contain onely some cavils to *my Reasonings*.

Lastly, as to the *many falsehoods of my Historical Facts*, which you proclaim me guilty of in your *Title page* ; the whole number you contest with me amounts onely to *one* : and tho' to save your credit you would fain stretch it to *two*, yet your second instance concerns no fact at all, but my solution onely of a fact, about which we both join issue, *viz. the Mosaic account of the Confusion of Babel*. Is this agreeable to the gravity and character you assume of an Advocate of Christianity ? or can it do any good to the Cause of Religion to defend it by such artful methods of Calumny ; and in the very act of exposing, as you pretend, my want of veracity, to give the real scandal of so notorious and wilful an insincerity ?

But to proceed to the examination of your several Criticisms ; which I shall take notice of in the order as they offer themselves, neither evading nor palliating the force of any of them.

You

You begin your attack by charging me with four instances of falsification in as many examples of quotations made from *Cicero* ; and accuse me not onely of prejudice and partiality, but of quoting him for *saying what he really does not say* ; nay, what he *disclaims and declares against* [a] ; and conclude by lamenting that this *Great Master of Reason should have so unworthy a Follower as Myself*. This you confirm as to the two first instances, by shewing that I have imputed to *Cicero*, what he speaks onely under the person of *Cotta* and under the fiction of a *Dialogue*, and what must not therefore be considered as his own opinion.

But you must needs be little acquainted with *Cicero's Dialogues*, to imagine that under these feign'd characters he does not frequently represent his own real thoughts : *You will wonder*, says he, in his letter to *Varro*, prefix'd to his *Academick Questions*, *to find a Conversation described between you and me which we never held together, but you know the manner of Dialogues* [b] : and in the Preface of his *Book of Old Age*, he tells us, that he assign'd the principal part to *Old Cato*, in order to give the *greater weight and authority to his own sentiments* [c]. Now in this

[a] Reply to the Letter, p. 9, 10.

[b] Epist. Fam. l. 9. ad Varron. &

[c] Sermonem tribuimus non Tithono — sed M. Catoni seni quo majorem auctoritatem haberet Oratio.

Book about the *Nature of the Gods*, whence my two Quotations are taken, *He* has instituted a *Dialogue* between three persons, of the three different Sects of Philosophy of most credit at that time in the world ; *Velleius the Epicurean*, *Balbus the Stoick*, and *Cotta the Academick* : which last from the Principles of that Philosophy undertakes to confute the notions of the *Stoicks*, about *Religion* and the *Gods* : and does not every one who knows any thing of *Cicero*, know that he was of the *same Sect* ; a constant Follower of the *Academy* in his real Judgment ? so that if there be any thing in that *whole Dialogue*, which can be called *Cicero's own* more peculiarly and properly than the rest, 'tis the very part and character assigned to *Cotta* : for in his *second Book of Divination*, where he disputes in his own person, he takes the same side, and uses the same arguments, which he had put here into the mouth of *Cotta*, to confute the opinion of the *Stoicks* about *Religion* and *Divination*. Where then does he disclaim the passages I have quoted ; why no where ; but on the contrary in other places confirms them ; and declares onely in general in the close of this very Conference, that the *argument of Balbus or the Stoick seemed somewhat the more probable* [a] : which may well be looked upon as a compliment to *Brutus*, to whom he addresses this very book ; for as *Brutus* was a *Stoick*, it was but a proper civi-

[a] De Nat. Deor. l. 3. ad fin.



lity in a *Dialogue* dedicated to him, to give a slight preference to the Principles he professed ; as we find him to have actually done on another occasion, in allowing the Philosophy that *Bru-tus* followed to be the best [a], tho' himself was of a different Sect.

But you carry the point still farther, and tell us, that the sentences here quoted are so far from being *Cicero's*, that they are not even *Cotta's* ; who owns at last, that all he had been saying was not built on any certain judgment, but proposed onely for argument's sake, in which he was willing to be confuted. And here whilst you fancy yourself pushing your adversary, you betray onely your own ignorance : for every one conversant in Antiquity cannot but know, that it was the peculiar character and distinction of the *Academy*, *Nullum Judicium interponere* ; to deliver nothing dogmatically, to declare no judgment of its own ; to follow onely the *probable* ; and beat down every thing advanced as *certain or self-evident* [b]. *Cotta* therefore, tho' agreeably to the Principles of his Sect, he might wish to be confuted, that is, to have some greater degree of probability offered to him, than what he had before acquiesced in ; yet must be

[a] Qui tum in Philosophia, tum in optimo genere Philosophiæ tantum processeris. De Fin. l. 3. init.

[b] De Divin. l. 2. 3. Hæc in Philosophia ratio contra omnia differendi, nullamque rem judicandi, &c. Nat. Deor. 1. init.



supposed in the mean while to have embraced and approved the Sentiments he had been asserting in this Dispute as the most probable.

Your Cavil to my next Quotation is still more ridiculous, for tho' 'tis truly taken from *Cicero*, yet 'tis found there, you say, *in the mouth of an Objector*. Where I must own my self puzzled to guess what you would be at: for you no sooner start the Cavil, than confute it yourself; telling us that *Cicero says the same thing in another place*, and in answering the very objection acknowledges the truth of it [a]: but is a fact then less true for being proposed as an *Objection*? nay is there not the greater presumption of its weight for being offered in that form? and if it be true, which is all I'm concern'd for, 'tis entirely the same thing, whether it be put as a *Question*, *Answer*, or *Objection*: 'tis put, it seems, in *Tully* as an *Objection*, and 'tis put just so in my *Letter*; where I shall leave it in its place, without losing more time about a Criticism so impertinent.

Your last instance of Falsification charged on me from *Tully*, is the mention of a *Dream of Alexander the Great*, about a *Serpent's speaking to him*, which *Tully*, I say, *makes merry with*. To this you give a double Answer: First, That tho' *Cicero* had laugh'd at such a *Dream*, yet 'tis

[a] Rep. p. 11.

*no more a consequence than that my left hand is my right, that he wou'd have laugh'd at the Story of a Serpent's really speaking, when attested so credibly, as 'tis by Moses. Secondly, that in fact, he did not laugh at the Dream at all, and that 'tis all a merry invention of my own [a]. And so far I agree with you, that what he ridicules is not so much the extravagance of a Dream, a thing common with every body, as the pretended miraculous effect of it, and the foolish credulity of those who look on such Dreams as sent from God. But I insist upon it withal, that he laughs too at the fancy of a Serpent's speaking, and that especially when it had its mouth full; but as this was not the case of Moses's Serpent, you think it clear, that had he met with the Story so well attested by the gravest and most antient of all Historians, he must needs have believed it.*

This indeed is a curious and ingenious problem, worthy the meditation of so judicious a person as your self, whether *Cicero would have believed this Story or no* : and tho' I have neither leisure nor inclination to discuss it with you at present, yet cannot help offering a hint or two which may be of use in so important an enquiry.

*Cicero* then asserts on all occasions, that our belief or opinion of things ought not to depend

[a] Rep. p. 12, 13.

on *Testimony or Authority*, but on the weight and moment of *Reasons*: condemns the *Pythagoreans* for their *Ipse dixit*, or implicit faith in their Master *Pythagoras*: and declares it *unworthy of a Philosopher or Man of Sense* to appeal to *such Witnesses as may be suspected to have falsified, or feigned the Facts they relate*; and to shew the Truth of things by *extraordinary Events* instead of Arguments [a]. These, Sir, were the Sentiments of *Cicero*, and I must leave it to your contemplation, whether a person possessed of such notions could easily take up with a Story so surprizing and prodigious on the single testimony of an Author, who lived above *two thousand years* after the fact, tho' he *pretended*, as you say, *to be inspired*.

But since you have thought fit to call this Story again upon the stage, and vouch for *Cicero*, that he would have believed it on the *same good Authority that Jews and Christians do*; pray tell us, Sir, after all, what it is that we Christians are obliged to believe of it: Must

[a] Non enim tam auctores in disputando, quam rationis momenta quærenda sunt — nec probare soleo id, quod de Pythagoricis accepimus, quos ferunt, si quid affirmarent in disputando, cum ex iis quæreretur, quare ita esset, respondere solitos, Ipse dixit — De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

Hoc ego Philosophi non arbitror testibus uti; qui aut casu veri, aut malitia falsi, fictique esse possunt. Argumentis et rationibus oportet quare quidque ita sit docere; non eventis, &c. De Divin. l. 2.

we believe it to be all an *Allegory*? No; 'tis the *Allegorical Interpretation* that has drawn this clamour upon me of *weakening the authority of Moses*, and *favouring Infidelity*. Must we believe it to be all *Literal*? No; we are not allowed to do that, since there's certainly much *Mystery* in it. What then are we to do? why, we are to consider it neither as *Fact* nor *Fable*; neither *Literal* nor *Allegorical*; but *both* together: to interpret one sentence *literally*; the next *allegorically*; the third again *literally*, and so on to the end of the Chapter; which like the very *Serpent* it treats of, is all over spotted and speckled, here with *Letter*, there with *Mystery*, and sometimes with a dash of both.

For instance; *God made Man*, we accept *literally*; but *after his own image* in a *figurative* or *metaphorical* sense: that *God made Woman*, we believe *literally*; but out of the *Rib of Man* most interpret *allegorically*: *God planted a Garden or Paradise*; here Commentators are endlessly divided between *Letter* and *Allegory*; some will have it to be in *heaven*, some on *earth*, others in a *middle region* between both. Again; *the Serpent was more subtle than any Beast of the field*, we understand *literally*; but this *subtle creature* no sooner accosts *Eve*, than he becomes an *allegorical Beast*; the *old Serpent*; the *old Deceiver*, *Satan*. Lastly, as to the punishment denounced on the Offenders, *I will put enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy seed and her seed*; it  
shall



*shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel; 'tis all Allegory, all a great Mystery.*

Now is it not more rational to follow one uniform, consistent way of Interpretation, than to jump at every step so arbitrarily from *Letter* to *Allegory*: and if the *Letter* be found in fact contradictory to *Reason* and the notions we have of *God*, what is there left us but to recur to *Allegory*? for which we have the authority of most of the *Primitive Fathers*, and the best *Jewish Writers*: and the *allegorical way* of expounding was so far from giving scandal in former ages of the Church, that on the contrary, to slight it was looked upon as heretical and full of dangerous consequences [*a*].

*Philo*, the most learned and orthodox defender of the *Jewish Religion*, treats this very History of the *Creation and Fall of Man* as wholly *allegorical*. By *Paradise*, says he, *we may suppose ænigmatically signified the governing part of the Soul, full of various opinions, like so*

[*a*] Propter has causas omnia quæ de Paradiso dicta sunt spiritualiter intelligentes Interpretes, quorum meminimus, dixerunt, quod diversæ natæ sint hærefes a quibusdam hominibus qui carnaliter audierunt, quæ de Deo et Paradiso dicuntur, &c. Vide Bibliothec. Patrum, per Marg. de la Bigue. Par. 1589. Tom. 1. p. 270.

Sunt inter Hæreticos qui contendunt minimè convenire, ut Vet. Testamenti scripta mysticè atque aliter quam de rebus ipsis interpretentur, &c. ibid. p. 409. c. 3.



*A Defence of the LETEER*

many Plants ; by the Tree of Life, Piety towards God, the greatest of Virtues, by which the Soul is made immortal : by the Tree of knowledge of Good and Evil, our common Understanding, by which we distinguish things contrary to each other in nature, &c. And when he comes to the story of the Serpent ; These things, says he, are not like the fabulous Fictions of Poets and Sophisters, but figurative or typical Lessons of Instruction, inviting us to search for the Allegorical Sense, by the discovery of its latent and hidden meaning : in which whoever follows the most probable conjecture, will find the Serpent, as 'tis aptly called, to be the symbol of Pleasure [a] : &c. whence he goes on to give the same Allegorical Interpretation of the whole, which I have done in my Letter.

Clemens of Alexandria tells us, that all Writers, whether Barbarians or Greeks, who have ever treated of Theology, have industriously obscured the beginning and origin of things, by delivering the truth in *Ænigma's*, Symbols, Allegories, Metaphors and such like figures [b]. And in another place, that the whole Scripture is written in the Parabolical Stile [c], for which he gives several reasons.

[a] Philo de Oficio Mun. p. 35, 36, &c.

[b] Strom. l. 5. Op. T. 2. p. 658. Edit. Potter.

[c] Παραβολικὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῶν γραφῶν, ib. l. 6. p. 303.

*Eusebius* shews, that *Moses's History of the Creation, of Paradise and the Fall of Man*, was delivered by him in this *recondite and symbolical way of learning*; and that *Plato*, (changing onely the names, as of *Paradise* into the *Garden of Jupiter*, &c.) has copied the whole Story, and *allegorised* it just as *Moses* had done before him [*a*]; of which he gives likewise some other examples.

And that the *Primitive Writers* in general esteemed the *symbolical or figurative interpretation of Scripture*, to be on many occasions the onely method of *vindicating it*, is very certain and undeniable: for instance, the *Mosaic Laws* about *Animals clean and unclean* were considered by them as wholly *allegorical*, full of a *hidden and mystical meaning*: *The Law*, says *Philo*, *accounts the Camel an unclean beast, because tho' he chews the cud, he does not divide the hoof*; now if we consider this according to the outward Letter, 'tis hard to say, what sense there is in it, but if according to the inward meaning, there is a most clear and necessary one, &c. which he goes on to explain [*b*].

*When Moses told the People*, says *Barnabas*, *that they were to abstain from such and such Animals*; the Command of God does not import a

[*a*] *Præpar. Evang.* p. 343. Edit. R. Steph.

[*b*] *De Agricult.* p. 206.

*real Prohibition to eat ; but Moses spoke spiritually, and by prohibiting Swine's flesh meant onely to say, thou shalt not keep company, or join thy self to such Men, as in their manners are like to Swine, &c. [a]*

*Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, Laëtantius, &c. follow Barnabas's interpretation : Tertullian goes further, and says, that nothing is so contemptible as the Mosaic Laws about the distinction and prohibition of animal food : and Origen still more freely ; that if we take them literally, they are unworthy of God, and less rational than the Laws of Men, as of the Romans, Athenians, Lacedemonians ; nay, that some of them are contrary to reason and impossible to be observed [b].*

Thus far then you must needs allow me to be orthodox ; clear of any attempt either against the *Authority of Moses*, or in *favour of Infidelity* ; unless you will involve in the same crime with me the most pious and learned *Fathers of the Church*, and the ablest Defenders of Christianity in all Ages : Let us see how just your charge upon me is in the following Articles ; particularly that of the *Jewish Circumcision* ; where you next examine what I have advanced in relation to *its divine Origin*.

[a] S. Barnab. Epist. c. x. p. 30. Edit. Coteler.

[b] Vid. ibid. Cotelerii Not. 42.

You affirm in the first place, that *I think with the Author of Christianity as old, &c. that Circumcision was borrowed from Ægypt* [a]. But, pray Sir, where have I declared that I think so? All that I endeavour or intended to shew, was the rashness and unreasonableness of those Divines, who assert its *divine Origin* in a stile so *dogmatical and overbearing* as cannot fail of giving disgust to Men of candour and learning; not allowing the least *colour of reason* to the contrary opinion, but treating it as the meer effect of malice and ignorance; a way of defence so contrary to good sense and good manners, that the cause of Religion must needs suffer by it.

However, Sir, had I really thought, what you impute to me, 'tis not at least in your power to convince me of an error, as we shall soon see by the weak attempt you make towards it. For in considering a Quotation of mine from *Josephus*, you say, *'Tis plain that Josephus does not speak there of any Ægyptians circumcised, but Priests onely; and that if I had translated him right, my Argument would have been spoiled; and that for your part, you gather from what Josephus says of Herodotus, that he understood Herodotus to mean that the Ægyptian Priests onely were circumcised: whence you form*

[a] Reply, p. 13.

immediately an Hypothesis out of your own brain ; *that these Priests of Ægypt taught the Priests of other Nations to be circumcised, on pretence that it was necessary in such onely for the sake, not of Cleanliness, as I render the word καθαριότης, but of Purity, or internal Holiness, just as it was among the Jews [a].*

But now, Sir, if the contrary to this be true in every particular ; if *the Ægyptian People in general, and not the Priests onely were circumcised ; if Josephus understood Herodotus in that very sense, and lastly, if Circumcision was used by them just as I have said, for the sake of outward Cleanliness, and not as your Criticism imports, inward Purity ; what will you say for yourself ; what excuse will you make for giving me so much trouble ? Will not the Reader begin to suspect that with all this Gravity you are but a Pretender to Learning, without any sound share of it ; that the Knowledge you are master of, is supplied from Scraps and marginal Citations, without any thorough acquaintance with Antiquity, or the Authors you refer to ? and as oft therefore as you are engaged to treat a question to the bottom, like a Man fighting in the dark, instead of beating your Adversary, will oftner be found beating the Air and bruising your own Knuckles against Posts or Walls ? of which we shall see many an instance before I've done with you.*

[a] Reply, p. 15, &c.

For



For suppose that I had allowed the very thing that you contend for ; that the *Priests only were circumcised in Ægypt* ; how would my Argument have been spoiled by it ? Was it impossible for *Moses*, who was bred up among those very *Priests*, and instructed in *all their Learning*, to have copied *Circumcision* from them, and yet extend it further afterwards by imposing it on the People too ? but not to dwell on Hypothesis, let us enquire into the Fact.

The Authors I have quoted, the oldest, who give any account of *Circumcision* [a], *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, mention it always as a custom common to the whole Nation, without giving the least hint or reason to believe that it was confin'd to *Priests* alone. *Agatharcides*, as quoted by *Photius*, says expressly that *all the Ægyptians were circumcised* [b] : and *Suidas* hints the same in the word ψᾰλῶ. *Strabo* indeed adds, what is confirmed likewise by other Writers, that the *Women were also circumcised* [c] : which fully confutes your Notion, and shews the Practice to have been general.

A question indeed may arise about the obligation to it ; whether it was of absolute necessity

[a] Jerem. ix. 25. neque Ægyptiis utilis est, &c. Just. Mart. Dial. 192.

[b] Photii Biblioth. p. 1358. ex Agatharclide, c. 30.

[c] L. 17.

or not to all; and there may possibly have been some distinction between *Priests* and *People* on this account: but that it was commonly and generally practised by all, can admit of no doubt from the concurrent Testimony of all Authors: and 'tis certain that as all the *Jews* would receive none to the *Passover*, but the *circumcised*; so the *Ægyptians* admitted none else to their *religious Mysteries* [a]; so that *Pythagoras* was forced to be *circumcised*, to procure admittance to their recondite and *symbolical Learning*: whence 'tis probable, that it was considered as a kind of *religious Test*, which the *Priests* and all who expected any benefit from Religion or Office in the State were obliged more peculiarly to comply with.

The next point is, whether *Josephus* understood *Herodotus* to mean that *Circumcision* was peculiar to the *Priests*. And if it be true in fact, as is shewn above, that it was not confined to *Priests*, and that *Herodotus* has given no ground for such a distinction; your notion must fall of itself. *Josephus* indeed, in the place referred to, may be understood of a peculiar obligation or absolute necessity which the *Priests* were under to be *circumcised* above all other Men; but on another occasion, where he appeals to *Herodotus*, for affirming the *Ægyptians* to be the *Authors of Circumcision* to all other

[a] - Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 354. c. 15. Edit. Potter. Vid. it. Cotelarii Not. in Barnab. Epist. c. 9.

*People, and even to the Jews, he makes no other reflection upon it, than that of such things every one may say what he thinks fit [a]. A modern Author, of more zeal than judgment, says on the occasion; Josephus has taken notice of the words of Herodotus, but I could have wished, that he had called him to account for them, and not passed them over so coldly—This did not become Josephus, on other occasions so stout an Advocate of the Honour of his Nation [b].*

Again, You say, the *Ægyptians* did not use *Circumcision*, for the sake of *Cleanliness*, as I render the word καθαριότης, but of *Purity*: an Observation wholly groundless; it being certain, that the main intent of the custom was, not to make them more *holy or pure*, but more *sweet and clean*; in order to prevent some bodily distemper or inconvenience frequent in those warm Climates; which is alledged by Writers as the cause and natural reason of the same practice in all the neighbouring countries [c]. But besides; the Passage itself, as it stands,

[a] Περὶ μὲν τῶν ἑκάστοις λεγέτοσαν ὅτι ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ. Antiq. l. 8. c. x. §. 3.

[b] De Repub. Hebræor. l. 2. c. 4. p. 70.

[c] Ægyptii, Æthiopes, alique ex oriente populi rationes regioni vel religioni suæ proprias habuerunt, quibus diu ante tempora Abrahami ad virilium pelliculas præcidendas inducti censeantur. Nam Philo & alii circumcisionem inter gentes aliquas consilio primum introductam putant,

stands in *Herodotus*, can suggest no other notion; and all others, who have ever quoted it, have taken it in the same sense that I do; for 'tis ranked in company with such Customs as relate solely to *external Neatness or Cleanliness* [a]; viz. the *washing themselves twice each day, and as oft each night in cold water; the constant washing their Cups; their Vestments; and the shaving their Bodies to keep them clear of Lice and other Vermin, &c.*

But you still blunder on and tell us, that the notion of the *Ægyptians* was just the same with that of the *Jews*, amongst whom it was considered as an *Emblem of Purity* [b]: in which you shew as little acquaintance with *Scriptural or Jewish History*, as you do with the *Ægyptian*: For 'tis clear from Scripture that Circumcision was not given for the sake of *Purity*, but as a *Sign and Seal of a Covenant* between God and his People; as an *outward Mark* to distinguish those who were under that Covenant, from all other Nations whatsoever. This is the account we have of its Institution as well from *Scripture* as the *Primitive Fathers*. *You shall circumcise, says God to Abraham, the flesh*

putant, ad præcavendam scilicet lepram aut carbunculum, e fordibus sub præputio latentibus oriri solitum, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1. c. 5. §. 4. p. 58.

[a] Vid. Herod. l. 2. 37.

[b] Reply, p. 16.



of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of the Covenant between me and you [a]

Abraham, says Justin Martyr, received Circumcision as a Mark or Sign, and not as of any efficacy towards Righteousness or Holiness as both Scripture and Fact itself oblige us to allow [b]. And Irenæus, That God gave it not as of any service to Justice or Righteousness, but for a Mark to distinguish Abraham's Posterity [c]. The Reader will make a proper Reflection on a Criticism grounded in meer mistake both of Jewish and Egyptian Antiquity.

But the Sting is, that I think with the Author of Christianity as old &c. which is so far from being a Reproach whenever he thinks right, as he certainly does in some things; that it would be much more for your credit to do so too, than to spend your time and pains in maintaining vulgar Errors and pious Prejudices against plain Fact and History: but if you would do me right, you should represent me, as thinking with Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Philo, Josephus, Photius, Sir Jo. Marsham, Dr. Spencer, and even Calmet too, whom you recommend to my perusal; who, tho' he labours like yourself to support the common Hypothesis

[a] Gen. xvii. 11.

[b] Dialog. cum Tryph. Par. 1. p. 184. Edit. Thurlb.

[c] Quoniam autem circumcisionem non quasi consummatricem justitiæ, sed in signo eam dedit Deus, ut cognoscibile perseveret genus Abrahæ, &c. Adv. Hær. l. 4. c. 30.

against



against Fact and Testimony, yet is so fair at the same time as to allow a *great colour of Reason*, a *great ground of Probability* to those who assert the contrary opinion, which is all that I have ever declared for.

We are now arrived at what you call my *Masterpiece of Quotation*, viz. a passage of *Josephus* referred to in my *Letter*, in which I make him give up, as you say, the *Divine Mission of his own Legislator Moses* [a]. Here indeed you seem greatly moved, and employ all your Rhetorick to move me too; calling upon me in the most solemn manner *for the sake of sincerity to retract my rash assertion, and to consider the whole Quotation over again, in which there's nothing, you say, that even seems to deny the Divine Origin of the Law and the Divine Inspiration of its Founder, but what arises from my Misrepresentation; that such a thought was as far from Josephus, as attention or sincerity was from me* [b].

I am come therefore, Sir, in obedience to your call, to review the whole Passage, and to consider very seriously and attentively not *the Translation*, as you absurdly call it, but *the short Abstract* I had given of the sense of the place in a manner agreeable to the form of a *Letter*, in which an exact or verbal Translation must needs have appeared stiff and awkward: and upon a most careful Examination both of the Original and my Account of it, I am so

[a] Reply, p. 16.

[b] Reply, p. 21, 22.

far from being sensible that I have misrepresented my Author, that I am the more clearly and perfectly convinced that I had before given his true Sentiments; and that *Josephus* in the place referred to does not insist on any *supernatural or divine Authority of Moses*, but ascribes all the great things done by him to his own *personal skill and management*, putting him on the same foot with *Minos and the other old Lawgivers of Greece*; and giving him the preference onely on the comparison for *the superiour Excellency of his Laws*. This, Sir, I will maintain against you or any man else to be the Sense of the Passage in question; and if I fail to make it good, desire at least, that it may not be imputed to any insincerity, but incapacity and mere ignorance of the *Greek Tongue*; since with all the Skill I am master of, I can draw out of it no other meaning but what I am going to explain: and I don't question but to convince every sensible Reader, that 'tis not I, who would warp and force the Words of *Josephus* to any meaning different from their own, but you; who being first warp'd yourself with prejudice, and prepossessed with Systems, which you hold sacred and inviolable, cannot relish any Truth, but what you can bend and accommodate to those previous Notions: But in order to set this Question in a clear light, it will be necessary to insert the entire Paragraph; where I hope the Reader will excuse the tediousness of a Translation, which I am forced by  
your

your Cavils to present him with, desiring one-ly, as 'tis a matter of some Importance, that he will give it a candid and impartial Attention. The whole Passage then runs thus.

*Let us consider then in the first place the Greatness of Moses's Actions. He having gathered together our Ancestors, after they had resolved to leave Ægypt and return to their native Country, into a mighty Body, brought them with safety thro' many and almost insuperable difficulties. For it was necessary for them to march thro' a Country without Water, and wide tracts of Sand; and all the while to fight their way thro' their Enemies, with their Children, Wives and Baggage to take care of. In all which Circumstances he approved himself a most excellent General, a most wise Counsellor, a most true and careful Guardian of them all. He brought the whole Multitude to depend wholly on himself; and tho' he had them entirely obedient in every thing to his Command, he turn'd all this to no particular profit or advantage of his own; and in that very opportunity, which other Governors chiefly make use of, to establish themselves in Power and Tyranny, and with that view indulge the People in a loose disorderly way of Life: He on the contrary, in this height of Authority, thought himself bound to live religiously and piously and shew great Benevolence to the People; thinking by that means the most effectually to demonstrate his own Virtue, and provide in the best manner for the security of those, who had chosen him their Leader. His Intentions then be-*

*ing*

ing so laudable and his Actions so great, he justly believed that he had the Deity for his Guide and Counsellor: and having first persuaded himself, that all he was doing or contriving was agreeable to the Will of God, he thought it necessary above all things to instil the same notion into the People: since those, who are persuaded, that God overlooks their Life and Conduct, will not venture on any thing illegal or sinful: Such an one was our Legislator not a Sorcerer or Impostor, as some unjustly asperse him, but such an one, as they boast Minos to have been among the Greeks, and the other Lawgivers after him: for some of them imputed their Laws to—but Minos ascrib'd his to Apollo and his Delphic Oracle, either really believing so themselves, or fancying by that means to make the People submit to them the more easily. But which of them (Moses or the others) has drawn up the best Body of Laws, and which had best pretence to be persuaded of God's Assistance (or otherwise, which of them has hit upon the best and justest Notions of a God) may be decided by comparing the Laws themselves; of which 'tis now time to give some Account: There are then throughout the World infinite differences of particular Customs and Laws, which yet we may reduce to these general Heads. Some have thrown the form of their publick Affairs into a Monarchy; others into the power of a few or an Oligarchy; others into the Multitude or a Democracy: but our Lawgiver had no regard to any of these; but, if a Man may use an expression so forc'd, made the form of Government be instituted, a Theocracy [a].

[a] Cont. Ap. 1. 2. c. 16.



This, Sir, is a faithful Translation of the whole Passage in the clearest manner I am able to render it; and to shew the insignificancy of your Cavils, I have in all those places where you find fault with me, given the very turn and force to the expression which you require: and yet there is not in the whole Paragraph one word in favour of the *divine Mission*, or *Inspiration of Moses*, in that sense of it, in which 'tis vulgarly received; but on the contrary, all the Glory of his great Actions, as well as of his Laws, are ascribed to *his own Virtue, Skill and Address*. In the first Part, which contains a short Abstract or general Character of his Actions, we find not the least hint of any *Miracle* or the *immediate Interposition* of God; we are not told, how the People must have been cut in pieces, when overtaken by *Pharoah at the Red Sea*; had not God miraculously opened a Passage for them thro' the midst of it: how they must have perished for want of Water; had not God for their Refreshment made it *to flow out of a Rock*: how they must have starved for want of Food in the Desert; had not God in a wonderful manner *sent it down to them from Heaven*: but the saving of them thro' all these Difficulties, thro' *want of Water, want of Food*, is here solely imputed to the Care and Conduct of *Moses*, and wholly turned to his particular Praise; till we come to the place you chiefly insist on; viz. that *Moses with such laudable Designs*



*signs and such great Actions reasonably believed that he had God for his Guide and Counsellor.* And what is there in this to support the Notion of such a *particular Inspiration*, as is commonly ascribed to *Moses*? What is there in this Persuasion of his, but what every good Man in the same Situation, must needs be persuaded of too? A Magistrate convinced of the Being of a God and a Providence, and conscious, that every purpose of his Heart intends the Honour of that God, and the Good of the People he governs, cannot help believing himself to be under the special care of the Deity. This flows from the very reason and nature of things, and can never be otherwise: God, as surely as he exists, must necessarily favour such a Man, and every such Man must as necessarily be convinced that God does so favour him. And this is all that *Josephus* can mean; since he grounds the Persuasion *Moses* had of being under the *particular Guidance of God*, not on any facts of *special Revelation* or *divine Inspiration*, but on the *consciousness of his own upright Intentions*, backed by the great success of his Actions. And such a Persuasion will always have more or less influence on the Mind, as it falls in with a Constitution more or less inclined to *Superstition* or *Enthusiasm*, (the peculiar Character of the *Jewish Nation*) which is apt to impute every laudable Thought, and every successful Action to the special Suggestion and Assistance of Heaven. And we see from what follows, that *Josephus* thought it possible for Lawgivers to be possessed

of such a belief, without any good ground for it; since he makes it a question, whether the *Grecian Legislators* were really persuaded, like *Moses*, or onely pretended to be so, of the *immediate Assistance of Heaven*; but whether they were or were not, 'tis certain however at least, that they could have no *real Inspiration*.

But the Sense I contended for is yet more clearly demonstrated by what follows: *That Moses having first persuaded himself that every thing he was doing was agreeable to the Will of God, thought it necessary above all things to instil the same Notion into the People*; because such a Notion instilled would naturally engage them to be better Men and better Subjects. Now if all is to be taken literally, just as 'tis represented in the Sacred Scriptures, what occasion could there be for any such care or thought of *Moses* about *propagating this Notion among the People*? The thing must have been done to his hands without any contrivance of his at all: the Miracles he daily wrought must necessarily convince the People of it: who could not see *the Glory of God descending and talking with him* so oft in the midst of them, without knowing that *every thing he did was agreeable to the Divine Will*. As *Josephus* therefore in this place imputes the *instilling this Notion* into the People to the *Skill and Address of Moses*, he could not intend to persuade us that this was done by the help of *real Miracles*, for they leave no room for any such Management or Address, but do the business

ness of themselves without it; but by *pretending to Miracles* where there really were none, and *deceiving the People* by a shew of something like them into an opinion that they were actually done. This is the Method, that all other *Lawgivers* in the World have ever taken, as oft as they have wanted or *thought it necessary to instil the same notion into the People*; and 'tis indeed the onely Method it can be done by, since if any one had the *actual power of Miracles*, he could have no occasion to project or think at all about it; the thing must necessarily follow of course; and by a constant series of miraculous Events, the Notion obtain of itself among the People.

But to obviate all offence, which I have no intention to give, I must beg the Reader to remember always and take along with him, that I am not declaring here any Sentiments of my own, or examining what was the true Fact and real Case of *Moses*; but what *Josephus*, from the Passage we are now considering, must necessarily either think himself, or desire that others should think of it, which will be more clearly explained still by what follows.

*Such an one*, says he, *was our Legislator, not a Sorcerer*; that is, not one, who did the Miracles he pretended to by any magical Art or infernal Power: *nor an Impostor*; who used the pretence of Miracles to cheat and deceive for

his own Gain or Advantage; but *just such an one as the Greeks boast their Minos, and other Lawgivers to have been, who ascribed the invention of their own Laws to the Gods*: And here you lay, I find, a great Stress on the Word *boast*, ἀυχᾶσι, as if it gave a contrary turn to the Sense, from what I have represented, and carried in it the Notion of Falseness and Lying; and that *Josephus* intended to signify, *that Moses really was, what they boasted onely, or falsely pretended their Lawgivers to be* [a]: A Distinction childish and ridiculous! since 'tis certain both from the use of Language and common Sense, that the word *boast* or *brag of*, as 'tis applied here to Men famous and excellent in their Generations, can have no other Signification than to *be proud of*, or *celebrate with Praise*; and the full Import of the Sentence is, that *Moses was such an one as Minos, and the other Legislators, whom the Greeks are so proud, or make such a boasting of*.

And, pray Sir, after all, what is it that the *Greeks boast so much of* in these very Men? Is it that they were *really inspired* by the Gods in the Contrivance of their Laws? No, there was hardly a *Greek* of Sense, who ever believed it; or had their Laws been dictated by the *Delphic Oracle*, would have believed it the more for that; as I could easily shew from Antiquity:

[a] Reply, p. 21.



All that they boasted and admired so much in them, was, that after they had contrived an excellent Body of Laws, they had the Address to persuade the People, that *those Laws were dictated by the Gods*; that under the Influence of such a Persuasion they might submit to them the more willingly. Do not the *Roman Writers* boast highly of their' *Numa*, as of an excellent Prince and wise Lawgiver; and for Proof of his Wisdom do not they tell us the Contrivances he used to instil the Notion into the People, that his *religious Institutions were suggested by the Gods*? But they were not so silly as to believe the Fact itself to be true: that he *really was inspired by a Goddess*, or received the *Ancile or holy Shield from Heaven*: These things they celebrate as the Instances of his Skill and Policy, in order to procure the greater Reverence to his Laws: And such an one *Josephus* in this Place describes *Moses* to have been: Just as *Diodorus Siculus* had done before him; whose Words, as they are very much to our present Purpose, I cannot forbear inserting: *The same kind of Fiction*, says he, *is said to have been used in many other Nations, and to have been the occasion of much good to those who believed it. Among the Arimaspi, Zathraustis pretended to have received his Laws from a good Spirit or Genius; among the Getæ, Zamolxis from the Goddess Vesta; among the Jews, Moses from the God called, Iao: Whether imagining that every Invention or Thought beneficial to Mankind was really wonderful and*



*divine, or that the Multitude out of regard to the Excellence and Power of the supposed Authors of their Laws would be the more readily induced to obey them [a].*

But in the next Words, *Josephus*, you say, *puts a wide difference between the Jewish and all other Lawgivers*: And so I own he does, by affirming *Moses's Laws to be much better than theirs*; which he proceeds to demonstrate by a Comparison of the Particulars: and from this superior Excellency of his Laws he infers a superior Right to propagate *the Notion of their coming from God*: so that his Argument runs thus: *Moses was no Magician or Impostor; but a wise and excellent Man, just such an one as Minos and the other Lawgivers of Greece; these imputed their Laws to the Gods, as Moses had done before them; but Moses had a much better right to do so than they, because his Laws are much better than theirs*. Every one will see the force of this Reasoning; for whoever is conscious to himself, that he has formed the best Body of Laws, has certainly the best pretence either himself to imagine, that he had the *Assistance of God in them*; or to deceive the People with the Notion of his being so assisted: for as the sole end of such Deceit is the *Good of the People*, he must needs have the best Title to make use of it, who had the *greatest Good* to propose.

[a] Biblioth. Hist. l. 1. p. 84. Edit. Laur. Rhodom.

But the last Article of *this Master-piece of Quotation* is still the strongest towards clinching the whole, to the Sense I have been establishing: for 'tis said, we see, that *Moses in projecting a frame of Government for his People, had no regard to any other kind then subsisting in the World, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy, but made his Government a Theocracy*: Now this is a short Explication of all that went before: for how is it in the power of any Mortal to make a *Theocracy*? Is it possible for a Prince or State, by calling upon or devoting themselves to God, to engage him to take upon himself the *absolute, immediate*, and as it were *personal Direction* of their particular Affairs? Yet this, we see, is ascribed to *Moses*, that he *made a Theocracy*, which, as far as it was his pure Act and Deed, as 'tis here described, can bear no other Sense, than that he managed matters so, as to persuade the People that every thing ordered or effected by publick Authority, was done by the *immediate Appointment and Direction of God*. This must needs have been *Josephus's Notion of the Jewish Theocracy*, as far as we can collect it from his Words; let's apply it then to a particular Instance.

*Moses* was to build a *Tabernacle* or House of publick Worship for the People: What was then to be done? Why, if as in other Countries he had been a *Monarch*, he would have called  
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for his Workmen, pitched upon a Plan and ordered the Work to be executed : or had he been the Presiding Magistrate in a Commonwealth, would have done the same thing with the Consent and Authority of the People : But he had made his Government a *Theocracy* ; and 'twas *God* therefore who must name the Workmen : and *God*, we read, accordingly pitched upon *Two*, the most famed, we may imagine, for their skill in Building and all kinds of Workmanship [a] : For as *Josephus* says of this very Fact ; *God chose the very same Persons, which the People would have done, had the Choice been left to them* [b]. What then do the Workmen do ? Why in any other State, under the Inspection of the Magistrate, they would have formed a Model of their Work, and contrived the Patterns of all its Vessels and Furniture ; but as this was a *Theocracy*, they durst project nothing of themselves, durst not venture on making even a *Table* or *Candlestick*, but by the *immediate Order of God*, and a *Pattern given from Heaven*.

This was the *Theocracy* that *Moses* contrived ; where you, Sir, may believe if you please, that with all his Wisdom he was not able to direct the building a Chapel ; nor the best Workmen in his Camp to make a *Candlestick* and *Snuffers*

[a] Exod. xxxi. 2, 6. it. xxxvi. 1.

[b] Ὅους καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐπελέξατο, τῆς ἐξουσίας ἡ αὐτῶν γενομένης. Antiq. 1. 3. c. 6.

but by *divine Inspiration*, and after a *Model given by God*: But you must not expect to persuade us, that *Josephus* believed so too: since the contrary is very evident; and that he had a mind at least to leave a liberty and latitude in explaining the manner of this *Theocracy*.

Upon the whole; had you known how to expound a Paragraph rationally, by considering the general Sense of the whole, and then connecting one part with the other; you might have saved me much Trouble and yourself the Shame of exposing your want of Judgment by such senseless Cavils: and instead of this Outcry against me, must have praised rather the Temper and Modesty of the Inference I draw, in recommending onely *more moderate and qualified Sentiments of the divine Inspiration of Moses*, than what are vulgarly received: for according even to your own Interpretation, does not *Josephus*, in the Passage just recited, use much more Reserve and Caution in asserting the *marvellous and supernatural* part of *Moses's Character*, than what his *literal History* does? And if so; the Inference is certainly just, that it might be a hint to us, to use the same *Reserve and Moderation* too in thinking and speaking on the same Subject.

But you say, that *Josephus* in this place was as far from the thought of any such Inference as I make, as Attention or Sincerity was from me when I read it; and if ever I had read his *Jewish Antiquities*, I must know that he never represents  
the



*the Law but as given to the Jews by God himself, thro' the hand of Moses [a].* I have read his *Jewish Antiquities*; and from that very reading have collected the contrary; that his real Sentiments of the *divine Inspiration of Moses* were very little different from what is represented above. For tho' he undertakes in that Work to deduce and connect a *perpetual History of the Jews* from the beginning of the World, as 'tis found in *the sacred Records of the Old Testament*; yet he takes such liberty with many of the facts there recorded, by *suppressing* some, *altering and accommodating* others to the ordinary Taste and common Sense of Mankind, as he neither could or durst have done, had he believed them to have been *really and strictly effected by God* in the very manner as the *literal Text* imports: to give one Instance out of many.

After his account of *the Passage of the Israelites thro' the Red Sea*, he subjoins this Reflection: *I have given every particular of this Story just as I found it in the Sacred Books: but let no Man be surprized at the strangeness of it, that such an ancient and innocent People should find a way opened for their escape thro' the Sea, either by the special Will and Interposition of God, or the accidental Concurrence of Natural Causes. Since in a like case as it were of yesterday the Pamphylian Sea retired before Alexander of Macedon, and open-*

[a] Reply, p. 22.



*ed him a Passage, where there was no other way for him, when God had a mind to put an end to the Persian Empire. And this is affirmed by all who have written of his Actions. But for these things, let every Man take them in what Sense he best likes [a].*

Now 'tis impossible that he could have left it in doubt, whether this Fact had any thing *miraculous* in it or not, had he entertained any firm and certain belief of the *absolute and universal Inspiration of the sacred Writings*, which represent it as one of the most *signal and illustrious Miracles* that God ever wrought by the hand of *Moses*.

To the Authority of *Josephus* I shall just add that of *Philo*; whose Words, as quoted by *Eusebius*, may be render'd thus: *As for the Man, whoever he was, who gave them their Laws, they had him in so great Admiration, that whatsoever he approved, they approved too. Whatever therefore he dictated to them, whether he had contrived and invented it himself, or had received it from the Deity, they imputed it all to God [b].*

I shall

[a]—Ἐἴτε κατὰ βούλησιν θεῶν εἴτε κατ' αὐτόματον, &c.—περὶ μὲν τούτου ὡς ἐκάστῳ δοκεῖ διχλαμεῖν. Antiq. lib. 2. c. 16. Ed. Hudson.

[b] Ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον ὃς τίς ποτε ἦν ὁ τῶν νόμων καὶ αὐτοῖς θεῖς, οὕτω σφόδρα ἐθαύμασαν, ὥς ὥτι δῆποτέ τινος ἐδοξεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς· εἴτε ἐν λελογισμένῳ

I shall make no Reflection on this Passage, but leave it to the Reader to consider, whether it is not more reasonable, with these *primitive and judicious Apologists of the Jewish Religion*, to allow some liberty of thinking, as to the *Divinity of their sacred Books*, than with our modern Zealots to calumniate and persecute for ever all who differ from them in Opinion about Questions of such Difficulty and Uncertainty; yet no sooner does a Man enquire with Freedom into the true State of any *Scriptural Fact*, but the *Alarm Bell* is sounded, and the Clergy admonished of a dangerous Attempt against the *Authority of Moses*. But consider, Sir, that the effectual way of ruining a Fabrick, is to charge it with a greater Load than it was made to bear; and the surest Method of weakening any thing is not by restraining it within its due Bounds, but by forcing and stretching it beyond what Nature and Reason designed it for. Now because this is a Question of great Nicety and Importance, which you seem not much acquainted with, it may be worth while to open it a little further, and add a Word or two more before I dismiss it.

'Tis the common Notion of all the *Greek Fathers*, that the divine *Plato* had greatly stu-

σμέν<sup>ς</sup> αὐτὸς, ἢτε ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμον<sup>ος</sup> ἔφρασε τοῦτο ἅπαν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνάγειν. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 8. ex Philone de exitu ab Ægypto.

died

died the *Books of Moses*, and made much use of them in his own : So that *Clemens of Alexandria* and others call him the *Attick Moses* [a] : and both *Clemens* and *Eusebius* take much pains in pointing out the particular Notions and Sentiments which he had borrowed from *Moses* [b]. As we have seen then already from such Passages above what is delivered of the Character and Abilities of the first *Moses* ; so let us see likewise what this *Attick Moses* says of the proper Qualifications and Perfections of *such a Lawgiver*. Why he says, *that he ought to consider and contrive nothing else so much, as to instil such Notions into the People as are likely to do them the greatest good* [c]. And this is exactly agreeable to the Character of *Moses*, as 'tis given almost in the very Words of *Plato* by the *Jewish Writers* as well as *Primitive Fathers*. But in order to execute his good Intentions towards the People, *the Magistrate or Legislator will often find it necessary, according to Plato, for the good of his Subjects, to invent certain Fables, Fictions, or political Lies, to be propagated among them, as Medicine or Physick to ob-*

[a] Νουμήνιου δὲ ὁ Πυθα γόρει, ἀντικρυς γράφει, τὶ ἐστὶ Πλάτων, ἢ Μωσῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνων. Strom. l. 1. c. 22. Edit. Potter.

[b] Vide Clemen. Alex. ibid. c. xxv. &c. It. Præpar. Evang. Euseb. l. 12. &c.

[c] "Ὡς ἐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτὸν δεῖ σκοπεῖντα ἀνευρίσκειν, ἢ τὸ πείσας μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσασαιτο αὐτὸν πάλιν. De Leg. 2. p. 664.

viate and cure ill Principles, as well as to infuse good ones : and above all, to influence the Minds of the younger Sort so, as to make them submit willingly and chearfully to the Laws prescribed. And to shew how readily the Multitude may be drawn into the Belief of any thing proposed by an artful Governor, he instances in the *Fable of the Dragon's Teeth sown in the Ground, from each of which an armed Man immediately sprang up* ; which, as absurd as it is, was yet once, he says, *swallowed for true by the People* [a].

Now the chief End proposed by *Plato* for the Invention of these *Fables* or *Lies*, is to keep the People the more religiously attached to an exact Observance of their Laws, and Obedience to their Governors. And this is what *Josephus* every where insists on, as the *peculiar Praise and Character of Moses* above all other Law-givers in the World : that he had his People from their very Childhood trained to the most inviolable Devotion to his Laws, and the most profound Reverence for his Person [b]. Now should I take the liberty to say, that *Plato's* Notion of the use and necessity of *Publick Fables* or *Lies*, was borrowed from the *Mosaic Writings*, and suggested by what he had observed in the *Practice and Example of Moses*,

[a] Vide Plat. de Repub. l. 3. p. 414. et alibi. it. de legib. l. 2. p. 663.

[b] Vid. Antiq. l. 3. c. 15. Sect. 3. It. con. Ap. l. 2. what



what an Outcry would the shallow Bigots make of *weakening his Authority*, and *favouring Infidelity*? Yet *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Eusebius*, I find, say much the same thing, and make this Reasoning and these very Sentiments of *Plato* a clear Proof of his Acquaintance with the *Mosaic History*.

*Clemens* speaking of the *Art of Governing*, tells us among other things, that the *ends of Government are to be served by persuading, or forcing, or injuring—or doing what is just, or lying, or telling Truth, as different Circumstances require; Examples of all which, says he, and how to use each of them properly, the Greeks to their great Advantage have borrowed from Moses [a]*.

*Eusebius* after having explained *Plato's* Opinion about the Necessity of contriving *proper Fables and Fictions* for the Good of the People, declares the Case to have been just the same with the *Jews*, and that in the *Books of Moses* there are infinite Examples of this kind of *Fictions* contrived for the Benefit of the Multitude [b].

But is the Notion then, you'll say, of the *Divine Origin of the Law and Inspiration of Moses* to be resolved into *Fiction* and *Fable* or

[a] Strom. i. p. 417. Edit. Potter.

[b] Præp. Evangel. p. 356. Edit. R. Steph.

*Political Lying*? No; far be it from me to think or say that; But this perhaps one may venture to say; that the Supposition of some degree of *such Fiction* may possibly be found necessary to the solving the Difficulties of the *Mosaic Writings*, without any hurt to their Authority, or advantage to Infidelity; since the best and most zealous Apologists of the *Jewish Religion* have not scrupled, we see, to allow it on some occasions; especially when it was their business to explain and propose it to Strangers; not with any design to *weaken*, but to *strengthen* it the more effectually in the good Opinion of the World; by shewing its *Founder Moses* to have been the same kind of Man with those other *Legislators* and *Founders of States*, for whom the politest Nations have always had the utmost Honour and Veneration. For *there's nothing dishonourable*, says *Plutarch*, in the common Story of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other such *Lawgivers*; that having great *Innovations* to make in the State, and a *perverse and obstinate People* to deal with, they invented the *Fiction* of a *divine Mission* or *Revelation*, *salutary and beneficial* to those for whose sake they contrived it [a].

But to return into the way from whence we have digressed. You go on to expose *my manner of misquoting*, as you call it [b], in some Pas-

[a] Plut. Numa, p. 62. Edit. Paris.

[b] Reply, p. 22.

sages I had produced from *Herodotus* ; and affirm, that I have *partially quoted him on purpose to deceive my Reader no less than five times in about twice the number of lines* [a]. Let us examine the Truth of this solemn and heavy Accusation.

First then, I quote *Herodotus* for saying, that *the Ægyptians were governed by Laws and Customs peculiar to themselves and different from those of other Nations*. This, you own, is *Truth*, but *not the whole Truth* ; for *Herodotus* says, that *their Laws were different from those of all other Nations*. But I judged it necessary, it seems, to drop the word *all*, lest the Reader should perceive the Absurdity of attempting to shew from this Place that the *Jews* agreed with them in their Customs [b]. Sure no Cavil was ever so trifling : For is not the Word *all* of necessity implied and understood in the very Sense I have given ? If the *Ægyptian Laws* were, as I say, *peculiar to themselves*, does not that *Peculiarity* infer a Difference from *all* other Nations ? But suppose the Word *all* not implied onely, but actually inserted ; how does it shew any Absurdity in my Reasoning, or at all affect it ? My Argument previously supposes some Resemblance of Customs between the *Jews* and *Ægyptians*, grounded on the long Residence of the *Jews* in *Ægypt* ; where for above two hun-

[a] Reply, p. 27, 28.

[b] Ibid. p. 23.

dred Years they are supposed to have *complied with the Customs, and conformed even to the Religion of the Country* [a]: As the Turn then and Genius of the *Ægyptians* disposed them to affect a *Peculiarity in their Laws*, and a *difference of Manners* from all other Nations; so the *Jews* also, among whom we find the *same Disposition and Affectation of Peculiarity*, may well be supposed to have derived this Humour from *Ægypt*. So that your Criticism is grounded meerly in your own Mistake of the very Argument you pretend to criticise.

Secondly, I say on the Authority of *Herodotus*, that the *Ægyptians* were more addicted to *Prodigies and Miracles* than any other People: And here you tell me, that I once more deceive my Reader, even at the expence of a false Quotation, since in the place referred to, *Herodotus* speaks not a word of *Miracles*, but of *Prodigies* only [b]. As if a *Superstitious Regard to Prodigies* did not imply an equal Regard to *Miracles*; and those who are so fond of the one, were not of necessity as much addicted to the other; as it might easily be proved of the *Ægyptians* in particular by many other Authorities, if this before us was not sufficient. But *τέρατα* the word used here, signifies, you say, *Prodigies*; and does it not signify *Miracles* too?

[a] Vid. Spencer de Legibus Heb. l. 1. c. 1.

[a] Reply, p. 24.



If you think not, I would advise you to consult your Dictionary, before you set up for a Critick : Nay, the very Reason you give why *Prodigies* must needs be meant in this Place, and not *Miracles*, proves just the contrary : For they were *such things*, you say, *as could be found out, which Miracles could not be* : Now 'tis certain that *Miracles may be contrived, invented, or found out, as τέρατα ἀνέυρηται*, may properly be render'd ; but the same cannot be said of monstrous Births, unnatural Copulations, &c. which you give as the Instances of *Prodigy*. And what, I pray, are the *τερατῆγοι* mentioned by Authors ; *the makers of monstrous Births, or the Forgers of Miracles* ? The following Words indeed are applicable properly to *Prodigies* ; but if the Sentence I have quoted be compleat in itself, as it seems to be considered in all our Editions, where 'tis distinguished by a full point ; then it leads more naturally to the Notion of *Miracles* than of *Prodigies* : However the same Word carries certainly in it the Notion of both, and a superstitious attention to the one, necessarily infers the same Regard to the other : So that your Observation has neither the use of Language nor Sense to support it.

Thirdly, I add, that the *Ægyptians had an High Priest, with an Hereditary Priesthood descending from Father to Son*. To this you reply, that 'tis unlucky for me that according to *Herodotus they had not an High Priest over the*

*whole Nation, as the Jews had, but one over each County or Province, of which there were thirty six ; a Constitution so different from that of the Jews, that if I had represented it right, I could never lead my Reader to agree with me that Moses borrowed it from Ægypt of all Countries under Heaven [a].* Most acute and ingenious Reason ! as if instead of a Similitude of Custom, which is all I endeavour to shew, I had undertaken to prove an Identity or absolute Uniformity in all Points and Circumstances : Should a Foreign Prince take a fancy to copy the *Hierarchy of England*, and in proportion to the Extent of his Dominions, establish either *one Archbishop* with subordinate *Bishops* ; or *one Bishop* with subordinate *Priests* ; which last Case was upon the Matter executed by the late *King of Prussia* : You without doubt would argue that the Hint could not possibly be taken from *England* ; because We had *two Archbishops* and He but *one*, or We *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, and He onely *a Bishop*. Your Reasoning is full as ridiculous in the Case before us ; as if *Moses* could not take the Government of the *District* or *Province* he lived in, as a Pattern for his own petty State, which was hardly much more considerable than a *single County* of *Ægypt*.

But 'tis unlucky for me, you say, that *Herodotus* is not speaking here of any such High Priest

[a] Reply, p. 25.

as the Jews had, one over the whole Nation, but one over each Province. Yet all the ill luck, I doubt, will be found at last on your side; who taking your Notions from separate Passages of Authors, which you interpret presently according to your own Prejudices, have happened in this Place, as in many others, to guess quite wrong. For tho' *Herodotus* tells us here [a], that there were many Priests to each God, and consequently a great Number of them in the whole; yet he must be understood to mean, that there was one High Priest over those many or the whole Number. This is very clear from other Passages of his History, where he plainly intimates that there was but one High Priest over the whole Nation, just as there was but one King: That the Number of their High Priests and their Kings, in a Succession of 341 Generations, happened to be exactly equal: That each High Priest provided a Statue of himself to perpetuate his Memory to Posterity: And that he himself was introduced by the Priests into a large Room or Temple, where these Statues were deposited, and saw 341 of Colossian Size, the Images of so many High Priests in lineal Descent from Father to Son [b]. Which cannot, I think, be applicable to any other High Priest, but just such an one as the Jews had, one over the whole Nation.

[a] Herod. l. 2. c. 37.

[b] Herod. l. 2. c. 143.

Fourthly, *the Egyptians*, I say, *abhorred Swine's Flesh as impure and abominable*. And here indeed you own, that I deliver *the true Sense of Herodotus*; to which I had added an Authority of *Josephus* to the very same Purpose. As the Fact then is certain and agreed, that the *Egyptians generally abhorred Swine's Flesh, and abstained from it superstitiously*; how can this be made an instance of *my falsifying or misquoting Herodotus*? Why, *because there are three Circumstances, as you observe with your usual Acuteness, in which the behaviour of the Jews and Egyptians with regard to Swine were not alike* [a]. But if there had been *threescore* instead of *three*, it had been nothing at all to the purpose, since the Fact I contend for is allowed: All that I pretend to intimate, is, from the near Resemblance of many Customs, that the *Jews* might probably have borrowed them from *Ægypt*: You cry out on the other hand, that the Inference is *unjust, partial, and contrived to deceive*, because I do not shew in all points an *Identity of Custom*. All which Clamour proves just nothing but your own want of Judgment, in not reflecting, that a Custom may be borrowed, and yet altered, enlarged or restrained as the Borrower shall afterwards find convenient.

[a] Reply, p. 27.

But



But there is one observation of yours, which I can't help taking notice of here ; that since the Customs which the *Jews* had in common with the *Ægyptians*, were in use likewise in several other Countries ; why, say you, *must they needs have been borrowed from Ægypt rather than from any other Country* [a] ? This you repeat, and insist on again in another place [b] ; nay, you go so far in one Instance as to declare, *that of all Countries under Heaven Ægypt was the most unlikely to derive the Custom from* [c]. Now I cannot for my life conceive, how 'tis possible for one, who knows any thing of the *Jewish History*, and has the least grain of Judgment, to put so silly a Question. The *Jewish Nation* was nursed up in *Ægypt* from its very infancy, and during a Residence there of above 200 Years grew up from one single Family into a mighty People : In all which Time, as is abovementioned, they were trained in *all the Customs*, and complied even with the *Religion and Idolatry of the Country* : and even after they had quitted it, they retained still, we find, the old fondness for the *Customs, Ceremonies and Worship* they had been used to : and this not onely on their Journey, when the Impression and Memory of those Customs were strong on their Minds, but when they were settled in quiet Possession of the promised Land, and formed into a regular

[a] Reply, p. 25. [b] Ibid. p. 42. [c] Ibid. p. 25.

State ; where they continued remarkable for nothing so much as their Aversion to Strangers, and their Care to preserve themselves separate and clear of any Mixture with all other Nations. If this be true, as it certainly is, what ground can there possibly be for what you so oft inculcate ; *that they might have borrowed their Customs from any other Country as probably as from Ægypt ?* Every Man of Sense must needs laugh at you for entertaining the least thought of its Probability ; which you might however have entertained as long as you please, had you but excused me from thinking it probable too, and not made this very Instance, in which I follow *Reason, Fact and History*, a Proof of my *Partiality and Prejudice against Moses*.

Fifthly, I have passed over one of your Observations in my way, about the Treatment of *Leprous Persons*, on purpose to give it a particular answer ; as it is the onely one in your Book, where your Charge upon me of *misquoting* is supported with any Truth or Reason. The Passage however is found in *Herodotus*, in the very Sense I had given to it, tho' not, it seems, among the *Customs of Ægypt*, where I had ranged it, but of *Persia* [a]. But tho' it would not perhaps be difficult to shew, that the same Treatment of *Leprosy* was practised also in *Ægypt* ; yet, as the Quotation stands, I can-

[a] Reply, p. 26.

not but own it to be the effect of Negligence, and want of Attention in me : I took it from my Papers, whither I had transcribed it, and not having the Original near me, or being in haste to finish what was before me, I trusted to Memory and the Persuasion I was under, that the Fact was related of *Ægypt*: Which I allow to be a Fault that deserves Animadversion, as I should as frankly have done in any other Article you charge me with, had there appeared any just Ground or Reason for such Charge. But since you have taken from me one *Ægyptian Custom*, I think myself obliged to replace it with another, viz. the *Laws about Animals clean and unclean*; which the learned *Cotelerius* allows to have been taken probably from the *Practice of Ægypt*; to which the *Hebrew Nation*, he says, were too much addicted [a]; and gives us a Quotation of *Porphry*, from *Charemon the Ægyptian Historian*, importing, that the *Priests of Ægypt abstained from Fish, and all four footed Beasts, whose Hoofs either were not cloven at all, or cloven into many Divisions, or such as had not Horns* (or, what comes to the same, did not chew the Cud) and all carnivorous Birds [b].

It would be endless to run thro' all the *Jewish Customs*, which Men of the greatest Learn-

[a] Vid. Barnabæ Epist. ex Editione Cotelerii c. x. Not. 42. p. 30.

[b] Ibid p. 36. Not. 78.

ing and Experience in these studies have deduced from the Practice of *Ægypt*. There's such an *Affinity*, says *Kircher*, *between the Jewish and Ægyptian Rites, Sacrifices, Ceremonies; that either the Ægyptians must have Hebraised, or the Hebrews Ægyptised* [a]: But which of them followed the other in these Rites, is so clearly decided by the learned *Spencer*, that *no Man, unless supinely credulous*, as he says, *can believe it to have been the Ægyptians* [b]. And indeed both he and *Marsham* derive in a manner the whole ritual Law from this very Source of *Ægypt*: *The moveable Tabernacle, Ark of the Covenant, Cherubims, Altar, Sacrifices, Priestly Vestments, the Sabbath, Festivals, Washings, Purifications, Oracles, Prophecy, Divination, &c* [c].

You go on to observe, that I *shew my Skill or great Negligence of quoting, in falsely rendering into English the Latin Translation of Maimonides's Words* [d]. Hard indeed, not to allow me capable of translating even *Latin*: But whatever you please to allow, I pretend to a Skill which you are not yet Master of, of rendering the true Meaning of a Passage agreeable to the

[a] Propyl. Agonist. c. 2. apud Oedip. *Ægypt*. T. i.

[b] Nemo vero nisi supinè credulus, opinari potest *Ægyptios*, &c. de Leg. Hebræor. l. 3. c. 2. Sec. 2. p. 650.

[c] Ibid. l. 3. c. 3. p. 663, &c.—It. Marsh. Can. Chron.

[d] Reply, p. 29.



general Notion conveyed by it, without trifling and dwelling on the less significant words, so as to hurt the main and obvious Sense of the whole. Let us try your Criticism by this Rule. *Spencer* speaking of *Circumcision* in the Words of *Maimonides* [a], calls it *res durissima & difficillima*; here we have its Character and Description; and the main Notion of the Passage is, that it was a *most harsh* and *most hazardous* thing: Now is it possible that a thing in its Nature the *most dangerous*, could ever be performed without *some Danger*? But *I change*, you say, *the restraining Word, sometimes with Hazard, into some Hazard*: Where every body but yourself will see the propriety of it, in order to make the Sentence consistent with itself: for as soon as I discover the true Sentiment of an Author, 'tis enough for me to catch hold of that, and not like your solemn Pedants think myself obliged to follow the very Inaccuracies and Perplexities of the Original.

But you urge me still and say, that *I shew my usual Dexterity* in the use of a Passage taken from *Lightfoot* [b], on whose Authority I assert, that *the frequent Mortality occasioned by Circumcision produced a standing Law, that when any*

[a] *Res durissima & difficillima, nec sine vitæ discrimine quandoque subeunda.*

[b] Reply, p. 30.

*Person had lost three Children successively by it, he was to be excused from circumcising the rest, in consequence of which there were actually many uncircumcised among them, &c.* Where *Lightfoot*, you observe, *speaks not a word either of a standing Law, or the frequent Mortality of Circumcision.* But does not the Case itself speak necessarily of both? And can any Man be so silly as to think, that by a *standing Law* I could mean a *Law of Moses*? No, the frequent Mortality occasioned by Circumcision produced a *Judgment* or *Decision*, as you own, of the *Rabbins* or *Jewish Doctors*, who were both Interpreters of the Law and Guides of Conscience, that *when a Man had lost three Children successively by Circumcision, he should be excused from circumcising the rest.* This I call a *standing Law* or *Practice* or *Custom*; grounded on a Decree of the proper Judges in the Case. But *Lightfoot*, you say, *does not speak a Word of the frequent Mortality of it.* But does not the Fact he mentions as sometimes happening of *three Children dying of it successively* necessarily imply and infer it? Allow the Case to have happened, tho' but seldom, and the other will follow of course: And here you shew, what you do indeed in every other Place, that your Cavils are founded only in your own Mistake of the very thing you cavil at: For you charge me as producing this Passage to prove, that the *Case of three Children's dying successively by Circumcision was frequent*

quent with them [a]: Whereas all I endeavour to shew, is, that *the Mortality of Circumcision must needs be frequent*, because *that Case did sometimes* happen: No body can imagine the Case itself to be very common, tho' you allow *five or six instances* of it on Record; and if no more had ever happened, they are more than sufficient to shew, that Circumcision was *ordinarily dangerous and often mortal*: You will hardly deny the *Small Pox* to be *frequently mortal*, yet few or none perhaps know five or six Cases of *three Children dying successively of it* in the same Family: which yet happened so often, according to *Lightfoot*, thro' *the danger of Circumcision*, that there were *many uncircumcised* on that account both of the *Priests and People*. And thus the Words of *Maimonides* and Passage of *Lightfoot*, in spite of your Cavils, demonstrably prove all I contend for, *the frequent Mortality of Circumcision*.

I have now gone thro' your *Criticisms on my Quotations*, and have shewn them to be both false and trifling, void both of Learning and Judgment: But this, Sir, ought not to reflect so much Shame on you, as the want of Candour and Truth, and the love of Calumny you betray in the Management of them. At setting out you would persuade your Reader, that there's *scarce one Quotation*, which I have not

[a] Reply, p. 31.

abused and misrepresented; yet out of *four score* you attempt onely some slight Objections to *fifteen*, as you reckon, but as every body else will count, *thirteen* onely; the two last, as we shall presently see, being not exceptions to my *Quotations*, (as to enhance the Number, you absurdly call them) but to my Reasonings: And of these *thirteen*, there's but a *poor single one* left you, in which you have shewn indeed some want of attention or too much haste in me, but no possible suspicion of any wilful Misrepresentation. Is this then the part of a Man of Honour or Integrity to calumniate so strongly on a Foundation so weak? Is this suitable to the Gravity of the Person you assume, and your conjuring me so solemnly *in God's Name, and for the sake of Sincerity, to weigh things better, and report Facts more fairly* [a]? Will not the Reader be apt to entertain the same Suspicion of your Religion, as he must before have done of your Learning, that with all this Outcry about it, you have no real Esteem or Concern for it; for which Reflection he will find still but too much Reason in what follows?

You proceed to call over again the *Story of Babel*, and declare my account of *that Confusion* to be *truly a confused one* [b]: where for the sake of a stupid Jest, you put your Judgment to some risk with the Reader; who may not per-

[a] Reply, P. 40, 41.

[b] Reply, P. 31.



haps be of Opinion, that my way of writing is so *confused* as you would intimate: But to come to the Point. I shall first consider what you object to my Account of this Fact, and then examine the Merit of your own Exposition of it.

I have said in my *Letter*, that the Sons of Noah were so far from any Resolution of not dispersing themselves, that before the Confusion of Babel they had already begun to disperse, and actually sent off a great Colony from the East to the Land of Shinaar [a]. For this I produced the concurrent Testimony both of *Protestant* and *Papist*, both *Patrick* and *Calmet*; and thought myself very orthodox and safe under the Shelter of such Authority; but all, it seems, in vain; since the *Question*, you say [b], is not what any Commentator has fancied, but what the Scripture has taught about the Matter. How hard is it to deal with such thorough-paced Divines? Commentators are at some times every thing; at others nothing with them. Doctor *Waterland* contemns his Adversary for having *no Acquaintance* with them [c]; and you condemn me for being *acquainted* with them: The Doctor says, that there's not one Commentator of Note, but would have set his Antagonist right [d]; you pretend to shew, that Two of the best Note have

[a] Letter to Dr. Waterland, P. 41.

[b] Reply, p. 32. [c] Script. Vind. Par. 1. p. 8.

[d] Ibid. p. 24.

set me *quite wrong* [a]. But there cannot be much difficulty in defending *Patrick* and *Calmet* against such an Expositor as your self: Let's try what can be done.

You observe, that in the end of the *tenth Chapter of Genesis* preceding the *Story of Babel*, 'tis said of the *Sons of Noah*, *that by them were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood*. And then it follows, Chap. xi. *And the whole Earth was of one Language and one Speech. Where all Mankind*, you say, *is spoken of without the Exclusion of any Part*. But, pray Sir, what do these two Verses import, but that the several Nations of the World were founded and peopled by the *Dispersion of the Sons of Noah*, and that before the *Confusion of Babel* the whole Earth had but *one Language*? Where the very Expression of the *whole Earth* seems to intimate some kind of dispersion and peopling of different Countries previous to *that Confusion*. But in the next Verse 'tis said, *And it came to pass as they journeyed from the East, that they found a Plain in the Land of Shinaar and dwelt there*. That is; of these *Sons of Noah*, by whom the *Nations were divided*, in the very Act of dividing and dispersing themselves, as one *great Part or Colony* travelled from the *East*, they found a convenient Plain and settled there. But here's not a *Word*, you say, *about their dispersing them-*

[a] Rep. p. 32.

*selves, or sending of Colonies:* But is it not implied in this *journeying from the East*, or is it possible to disperse any otherwise than by journeying from one place to another? But there's no Hint given; you observe, that this is to be understood of a *part of them* onely, and not of the *whole*. But where the Text is silent, or obscure, must not we fill up the Sense of it from Reason and the Nature of things, which necessarily suggest such a Distinction? For what Sense can there be in supposing, as you do, that the whole of Mankind must needs travel thus from Place to Place in one Body? Why, *when they had consumed the Provision and Forage their first Settlement afforded, they were forced*, you say, *to remove to another*. But would not Reason and Necessity have taught them, that the onely Remedy for this Evil must be their *separating* from each other, and not *journeying together*? For the same Inconvenience would always attend them, whilst they all held in a Body; and there could have been no end of their journeying, if they had hung together, till they had eat up every thing the Place afforded: All which Distress would have been prevented at once, if as soon as Victuals grew scarce for their *whole Number*, they had sent off a *Part* or *Colony* to fresh Quarters; whilst as many of them staid behind and kept Possession of the old ones, as they were capable of receiving.

Again, by supposing the *whole Body of Mankind* to be concerned and present at the *Confu-*

*sion of Babel*, you involve *Noah and his Sons*, who were then alive, in the Guilt and Partnership of that Rebellion against God: But 'tis improbable or incredible rather, that such a *Preacher of Righteousness*, whose Faith and Virtues are so celebrated in Scripture, could either have consented himself to so wicked a project, or that so *venerable a Parent of human Race* should not have Credit and Authority enough in his own Family to have restrained them from so daring an Impiety. So that 'tis on all accounts highly reasonable to conclude with the *learned Commentators* above mentioned, that it was but a *Colony or Part of the whole*, that travelled from the *East*, and were concerned in building the *Tower of Babel*.

But I had observed in my Letter, that *all we can collect from this Story is, that the Multitude at Babel, knowing they must soon be dispersed still further, had a mind before such Dispersion to erect some publick Monument of their common Origin, by building a City and a Tower that should reach as high as Heaven; and that it was the Presumption and Arrogance of this Design that induced God to baffle it by confounding their Language, &c.* Now you on the contrary affirm, that *I collect from the Story a Design quite different from what the Story expressly mentions [a]:* Where I must leave it to the Reader to judge whether

[a] Reply, p. 35.



I have justly represented the Sense of Scripture or no: For does it not plainly intimate, that the Ground of their offending God, was in the Design they had projected of *building a Tower as high as Heaven*? Does it give any other Instance of their Arrogance and Presumption? And does it not likewise expressly say, that their Intent was to *raise themselves a Name* by the Project they had formed? The Story I declared to be a *strange one*, and durst not for that Reason venture on any other Solution of it, than what the very Words suggested. But *I was misled*, you say, *and endeavour to mislead my Reader by the idle Translation of the Old Greek and Latin Interpreters*; since the Original imports just what our *English Version* gives; *let us build a City and a Tower that may reach to Heaven, and let us make a Name, lest we be scattered abroad*, &c. And allowing all this; does not even the Word *lest* imply an Apprehension or Notion that they should shortly be obliged to disperse further; and an Intention consequently to erect this *publick Monument and make themselves a Name before such Dispersion*? But the Word *lest* according to you gives a quite different Turn to the Sense; as if it had been said, *let us build a City and a Tower, to prevent or hinder our further Dispersion*. Strange Nonsense! As if a Tower could change the Nature of Things, and prevent their being scattered abroad or dispersed to people the Earth: Unless you can suppose them resolved to combat Heaven itself, and silly enough to

imagine that by the help of such Entrenchments they should be able to baffle the Power of the Almighty.

The Text then, whether we render it according to the *Seventy Interpreters* and the old *Latin*, or according to our *vulgar English*, comes, we see, in a manner to the same thing: I cannot however dismiss it without observing the Rashness of your Censure on the *Old Greek Version*, which you call an *Idle Translation*, tho' it was so frequently used, and *authenticated* as it were by our *Saviour, the Apostles and Evangelists*, and held for Sacred and Inspired by all the *Primitive Fathers*.

I shall now just spend a Word or two in examining your own Account of *this Historical Fact*; where tho' you seem cautious of using Dr. *Waterland's* Words, yet you assert in effect the very same thing, which in every Dress of Language will always be equally absurd. The *Doctor* says, *that the Sons of Noah had formed a Conspiracy to hang together in a Cluster, and neither to disperse nor cultivate the Ground, had not God miraculously interposed to confound their Projects, &c [a].* You say, *that they were resolved to hold closely together; to adhere strictly to each other, and never to part, if God had not forced them to it, to prevent those Quarrels and Wars*

[a] Scripture Vindicated, Part 1. p. 42.

*which would inevitably arise among them from their living together, &c [a].* Strange, that such a loving, fond Society, that could not bear the thought of leaving each other, *determined, as you say, to live and die together [b],* should so soon be engaged in *Quarrels and Wars!* But their Love, it seems, was so extravagant, that it was worse than Death to them to part, and they would chuse rather to kill one another than live asunder. 'Tis surprizing, I say, that Men of any Understanding can take up with such Absurdities, and after much Pains and Plodding should have got no further in thinking than what their Nurses had taught them.

Had Mankind in those first Ages of the World been all confin'd within some *Island*, whence no Escape was practicable; the Account you give might have had some Reason in it, that as fast as their Numbers increased and their Victuals diminished, they must have been forced to destroy and prey upon each other; but even in such a Case, rather than perish by Hunger, they would have struggled hard and tried many an Invention of Floats and Vessels in quest of better Quarters by Sea: But to suppose such a Multitude in the middle of the Continent and in fruitful Plains determined to hold together till they starved, and like Men in the Extremity of a Siege, killing

[a] Reply, p. 38, 39, &amp;c.

[b] Ib. p. 39.

each other for want of Victuals, which yet might be had for fetching; whilst Plenty and all the World lay before them, if they would but disperse themselves to the Enjoyment of it; is so senseless and absurd a Notion, that 'tis inconceivable how any Man can entertain it. There could not then be any want of a Miracle to bring about the *Dispersion of Mankind* in its infant, growing State; or occasion for any other Command, than what was given to Man at his Creation and implanted in his Nature; *encrease and multiply*; the certain Consequence of which is to *disperse and replenish the Earth*: His own natural Appetites would necessarily force him to it, as soon as it became convenient, in spite of any Will or Resolution to the contrary, could any such without Absurdity be supposed.

You come at last to expose the *Falshood of the Historical Faëts*, which I have rashly advanced, as you say [a], in several Parts of my Letter: Where one would imagine that you would have contested with me every *single Faët* I had touched upon, since you proclaim it in your *Title Page*, and undertake to shew the *general Falshood* of them all: Yet all the *Faëts* you pretend to dispute with me are but *two*; and of these *two*, the second, as I've observed above, is *no Question of Faët* at all, but a Squabble onely

[a] Reply, p. 41.



about my Opinion or Manner of solving a *certain Faët* which we both allow to be delivered in History, viz. the *Confusion of Babel*. This you call *one of the Historical Faëts*, that I have *falsly advanced*; which shews the little Arts you are forced to use to raise an Outcry against me, and enhance the Sum total of my Malice and Impiety.

The *only Faët* then you contest with me, as *rashly advanced in my Letter*, is concerning the *Learning, Politeness and flourishing Condition of Ægypt in Moses's Time*. I had asserted it to be more probable that the *Jews* should borrow from the *Ægyptians*, than the *Ægyptians* from the *Jews*, from the general Character of the two Nations: of the *Ægyptians*, as always *learned and polite*; of the *Jews*, always *rude and illiterate*. And tho' I had assigned no Period of Time to their Fame for Learning, yet since my Reasoning supposes them possessed of it before *Moses's* time, I will here join Issue, and allow, as you say [a], that *the Question between us is, whether Ægypt was so great a Kingdom, so polite a Nation in Moses's time as I have represented it*. This then is the Faët, that I undertake to make good; I will not say against you, who seem to know but little of the Matter, but against what you absurdly call the *Demonstrations and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton* [b].

[a] Reply, p. 42.

[b] Reply, p. 44, 50.

You had heard much talk of Sir *Isaac's Demonstrations* in Mathematicks and his great *Discoveries* in Natural Knowledge; and imagin'd perhaps that those Words signified nothing more than *Conjecture* or *Opinion*. For had you reflected what a *Demonstration* meant, you could not have applied it to a *System of Chronology*, however probable, or preferable to all others, which from the Nature of Things can never reach Certainty or admit of *Demonstration*. But pray Sir, after all, what is it that Sir *Isaac* has discovered? has he brought to light any old Authors, which for Ages past had lain buried in Oblivion; or any Monuments of Antiquity unknown before to the Curious? Or has he done in the learned, what he did in the natural World; invented a *new Telescope*, to pry into remote and dark Antiquity with more Accuracy than had been practicable before? If he has done nothing of this, then *all his Discoveries* can amount onely to *Conjecture*; which like that of all other Men, will always be fallible and uncertain, as we shall find more especially in the very Instance before us.

In saying this, I am far from any thought of weakening the Authority or lessening the Character of Sir *Isaac*; I have as great an Honour for him as you have, and look upon him as one of the greatest Philosophers the World has ever produced: But if as in Mathematicks

matics and Philosophy, so in every other Part of Learning, his Authority must needs be advanced above that of all others; I must take the liberty to dissent from you, and to declare, that for a thorough Knowledge of Antiquity, and the whole Compass of *Greek and Egyptian* Learning, there have been, in my Opinion, and now are, many Men as far superior to him, as he within his proper Character is superior to every body else. And I cannot but observe, that it is much the same Case here with the *Authority of Sir Isaac*, as it was above with that of *Moses*; 'tis not I, but you who weaken it, by forcing and stretching it to a Point whither it can't be extended, to a length it never can reach.

But to come to the Question, of the *Politeness and Learning of the Egyptians in Moses's time*: I had touched it but slightly in my *Letter*, imagining that it must have been taken for granted, or could not at least be called in question by any *Christian* on the single Testimony of *St. Stephen*; who affirms, *Moses to have been learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians* [a]. But I was much surprized to find you treat *St. Stephen's* Authority so slightly; by telling us, *that these Words of St. Stephen were not a Proof of any thing but that he spake according to the then receiv'd Tradition of the Jews* [b];

[a] Act. vii. 22.

[b] Reply, p. 49.

which

which is telling us in effect, that they proved just nothing at all, but that himself was misled by the vulgar Errors and popular Prejudices of that Age; that had he lived to see Sir *Isaac Newton's Demonstrations and Discoveries*, he must have been of another Mind. Strange! to find so zealous an Advocate of Christianity, in order to get rid of a slight Difficulty, destroying the very Foundation of all Revealed Religion. For is it possible, Sir, that a Person *inspired by God, full of the Holy Ghost*, and speaking under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Divine Spirit*, as St. Stephen here did, could be misled by popular Error or Prejudice to utter any thing false and erroneous? Such a Concession must needs shake, I say, the very Foundation of *Christianity* itself. For what Impression could its Dictates make, if tho' inspired, they could yet be supposed to be false? Thus whilst your zeal for senseless Systems transports you to treat me rudely, for moderating onely the extravagant Notions of some of our popular Divines, and demolishing such slight Outworks as make the Defence of Religion more difficult; you betray the very Citadel, and yield up the Fortrefs itself. This is a length and freedom of thinking, which, I assure you, I cannot reach; however you are pleased to calumniate me as a *Favourer of Infidelity*: For tho' I'm far from thinking every Tittle in the *Holy Scriptures to be inspired*; or that Persons *inspired* on certain Occasions, must of course be

1

*infallible*



*infallible* on all ; yet I cannot but think it a Point fundamental and necessary to be believed by all Christians, that whilst a Man is under the *actual Influence and Direction of the Holy Ghost*, he must at the same time be *infallible and superior to all Error* ; or else Christianity cannot be defended. In the present Case therefore from the single Testimony of *St. Stephen, full of the Holy Ghost*, we are as much obliged to believe, *that Learning flourished in Ægypt before Moses's time*, as that Christianity itself is true ; for both must stand or fall together.

And here I have the pleasure to find my Opinion confirmed by Dr. *Waterland* himself, on whose Learning and Judgment you set so high a Value ; who affirms the *Authority of St. Stephen speaking by the Spirit of God*, with regard to any Action or Passage of History, to be sufficient to silence all Cavils to the thing itself, tho' otherwise seemingly wrong and contrary to the reason of things ; as in the Case of *Moses's killing the Ægyptian* : how much more decisive then must the same Authority be, when it asserts onely a plain matter of Fact, in itself harmless and indifferent ? Why, to use the *Doctor's* own Words ; the *Question admits of a short Decision, and is onely this : Whether St. Stephen full of the Holy Ghost, or a Gentleman full of himself and his own imaginations be most likely to pass a true Judgment on the Case [a] ?*

[a] Script. Vindic. Part. 2. p. 5.

To

To the Testimony of *St. Stephen* we may add another from the *Old Testament* ; where in celebrating the great Wisdom of *Solomon* 'tis said, that it *exceeded that of the Ægyptians* [a]. Now this, whether we are to take it for *inspired*, or as a mere *historical Testimony*, must however convince all who have any regard for Scripture, that *Ægypt was famed for Wisdom before the Age of Solomon* ; but Scripture is nothing with you to *Sir Isaac's Demonstrations* ; who has discovered, it seems, that the *Ægyptians had not so much as the use of Letters* among them till *Solomon's Reign* [b].

With this Account of *Scripture* the whole Stream of *Profane History* entirely agrees ; that the *Ægyptians* of all People in the World had the most antient Monuments, and most authentick Proofs of their *Learning and Antiquity*.

*Herodotus* owns, that the *Greeks* borrowed almost every thing from them ; that they were the Inventors of most Arts and Sciences ; *the Division of the Year* ; *the Immortality of the Soul* ; *the Names and Worship of the Gods, Altars, Statuary, Sculpture, &c* [c]. That they reckoned a Succession of Kings from *Hercules to Amasis*, for the Space of *seventeen thousand Years* ; which

[a] 1 Kings iv. 30.

[b] Reply, p. 43.

[c] Herod. l. 2. c. 4, 46, 50, 123, &c.

*they pretended to demonstrate by an exact Register and Computation of Time regularly preserved in their sacred Books [a].*

*Diodorus Siculus gives much the same Account of their Antiquity and Invention of Arts and Sciences ; and says, that besides their fabulous History, wherein they supposed their Country to have been governed by the Gods, they pretended to a Succession of four hundred and seventy Kings and five Queens Natives of Ægypt, exclusive of the Time they were under the Æthiopians, Persians and Macedonians ; of all which Reigns they had clear and distinct Accounts in their sacred Records, describing particularly every Prince's Person, Character and Length of Reign ; from which Books he himself had made his Extracts [b]. He says also, what indeed all other Writers confirm, that it was antiently the most populous of all the known Countries of the World ; and had in it above eighteen thousand Cities and considerable Towns. Pomponius Mela and Pliny affirm it to have had twenty thousand in the Reign of Amasis, and that it continued to their own Time, well stocked with Cities, tho' less noble ones [c].*

[a] Ibid. c. 43. Ταῦτα Ἀιγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως Φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι αἰεὶ τὸ λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογορραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. Ibid. c. 145.

[b] Biblioth. Hist. l. 1. p. 41, 42. Edit. Rhodom. It. p. 27. B.

[c] De Situ Orbis, l. 1. c. 9. Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 9.

This Notion of the *Greatness, Antiquity and Learning of the Ægyptians, superior to all other Nations*, is fully confirm'd and asserted by all the *primitive Writers both Jews and Christians*.

*Philo* the learned Jew, who himself lived in Ægypt, tells us, that *Moses learnt of his Ægyptian Masters, who were sought out for him from all Parts, Arithmetick, Geometry, Musick, and their Philosophy expressed by Symbols, or Hieroglyphicks under the Figures of Animals; and Mathematicks, which the Ægyptians were especially fond of, &c* [a].

*Clemens of Alexandria*, who lived likewise in Ægypt, exactly follows *Philo's* Account, and ascribes to the Ægyptians the Invention of the principal Arts and Sciences [b].

*Eusebius* after both affirms the same thing; ascribes to the Ægyptians the Invention of Arts and Sciences, declares, that they had the clearest and most undoubted Monuments of their Antiquity, and that the Greeks borrowed all in a manner from them [c].

[a] De Vita Mosis, lib. 1. p. 605, 606.

[b] Strom. l. 1. p. 413, 361. Edit. Potter.

[c] Præparat. Evangel. p. 29, &c. It. 279, 280, &c. Edit. R. Steph.



*Josephus* is just in the same Story with the rest, and allows them in *Solomon's* time to have excelled all other Nations in the Fame of their Wisdom [a].

Now if there had been any Prejudice in these *Jewish* and *Christian* Writers, who were all zealous and orthodox in their Religion, it must needs have been like yours on the other side of the Question; in thinking it a *Diminution to the Authority of Moses*, to imagine that he had borrowed any thing from *Ægypt*; but the Notoriety of the Fact and the Testimony of all History obliged them to allow and assert the Truth, which can never do Hurt to any Cause that is good.

But 'tis time to examine what *Sir Isaac Newton* has demonstrated and discovered in Opposition to all this Authority. Why, he has observed, that *Ægypt* was so thinly peopled before the Birth of *Moses*, that *Pharoah* said of the *Israelites*, behold the Children of *Israel* are more and mightier than we: From whence it may at least, you say, be inferred, that the Jews were then no less powerful and flourishing a People than the *Ægyptians* [b]. Where you seem to think yourself very modest in not insisting on much

[a] Con. Ap. 1. 2. 6. Et Antiq. Jud. 1. 8. c. 2. §. 5.

[b] Reply, p. 42, 43.

more, viz. that the *Israelites* were even more potent and numerous than their Masters the *Ægyptians*. Strange Notion indeed! Not that I wonder at you, whose Notions seem generally to be taken on trust, but at Sir *Isaac* for entertaining it; being grounded meerly on Mistake or want of Attention to the *lofty and hyperbolic Stile of Scripture*: For by the same Reason he might as well have proved, that the *Jews* were absolutely the most powerful Nation in the World, since none of the great Monarchies ever reached the height of those Descriptions we find given of them in the *Sacred Writings*; where they are oft described to be as numerous as the Sands of the Sea and the Stars of Heaven [a], for Multitude. And it is from the same Sublimity of Expression, that the *seven petty Nations* of the promised Land are said to be more and mightier than these very *Israelites*; and their Cities impregnable and even fenced up to Heaven [b]. But to review the Text itself, whence you draw this Inference: *The People of Israel*, says *Pharaoh*, are more and mightier than we: And what's the Consequence? Why, a Resolution to afflict them the more heavily for it, and to make their Slavery the more rigorous [c]. A wonderful Proof of superior Power and Might, to suffer themselves to be treated the worse for it by the fewer and weaker!

[a] Gen. xxii. 17. 2 Sam. xvii. 11. Heb. xi. 12.

[b] Deut vii. 1. Exod. ix. 1. [c] Exod. i. 9, &c.

But

But to examine a little the Possibility of this Notion from the very Account we have of it in *Scripture*. Whilst *Abraham* the *Father of the Jews* was yet childless, *Ægypt* is represented as a formed and established Monarchy: For we read of *Pharaoh* its King, with his *Princes* or great Courtiers around him [a]. About two hundred Years after, at *Jacob's* Descent into *Ægypt*, when the whole Posterity of *Abraham* reached onely the Number of *seventy Persons*, we have a more particular Description of the Wealth and flourishing Condition of that Kingdom [b]. And yet in about two hundred Years more, you suppose the *small Family of Jacob* to be grown superior in Power and Numbers to a Kingdom founded so many Ages before; which all this while had held them in Bondage and Slavery, and employed them in constant Drudgery and hard Labour.

Again, consider the Circumstances of their Flight from *Ægypt*. *Pharaoh* repenting of the Leave he had given them, pursues them with *six hundred chosen Chariots* [c]; and, as *Josephus* adds, *with fifty thousand Horse, and two hundred thousand Foot* [d]. Which yet could onely be a small Part of the military Force of *Ægypt*;

[a] Gen. xii. 15.

[b] Gen. xlvi, &amp;c.

[c] Exod. xiv. 7.

[d] Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 15. §. 3, &amp;c.

as it must have been gathered in haste and marched on so short a warning. With this Force, according to the same *Historian*, he hemmed them in in such a manner between the Mountains and the Water, that they must all have been infallibly cut off, had not a Passage been opened to them of a sudden, either miraculously or accidentally thro' the Red Sea. So that taking the Account from *Scripture* and the *Jews themselves*, there cannot be any ground for a Comparifon of the *Power and flourishing Condition* of the two Nations.

This Sir, is what Sir *Isaac's Discoveries* amount to with regard to the *Strength and Greatness of the Ægyptian Nation*: Let us next see what he has *demonstrated* against the Learning and Wisdom, which I suppose them to have had in *Moses's time*. Why he says, that the *Invention of Letters was ascribed by the Ægyptians to Thoth, Secretay to King Osiris; who was the same Person as Bacchus, as Sesostris, as Sefac or Shisac who plundered the Temple of Jerusalem in the time of Rehoboam* [a]: And consequently that they were so far from having any Learning, that they had not even the *use of Letters* till about *Solomon's Reign*. But how does he prove all this? why, by meer Conjecture: *Osiris, Bacchus, Sesostris*, says he, *lived about the same time; were all Kings of Ægypt*;

[a] Reply, p. 43. Newt. Chron. p. 210.



potent by Land and Sea; all great Conquerors; carried their Conquests as far as India; all left Pillars with Inscriptions, &c. and therefore all three must be the same King, and this King can be no other than Sefac [a]. And he might as well have said, that they must all be the same with Alexander the Great, since much the same Actions are attributed also to him.

I shall not trouble myself with examining this Conjecture any further, than as it concerns the *Faët* I am engaged to support, that the *Ægyptians had Arts and Learning amongst them before the time of Sefac or Rehoboam*. And how is it possible to imagine that so great a Kingdom as *Ægypt*, which, as we learn from Scripture, had flourished for about a thousand Years from the time of *Abraham* to *Shisac*, should thro' all that Period want not onely the *use of Letters*, but almost all the other Arts and Inventions useful to Life; whilst the *petty State of the Jews* bordering so closely upon them, had all this while the familiar use of them all? *Osiris* according to the Ancients, and his Wife *Isis*, invented the *Culture of the Vine*; *Physick*; *Sowing and Ploughing*, &c [b]. Now, if Sir *Isaac's* Conjecture be true, they must have lived without *Medicine*, *Corn* or *Wine* till the time of *Shi-*

[a] Newt. *ibid.* p. 193.

[b] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 14. It. p. 22. It. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* p. 29, &c.

*Isaac* or *Solomon*, whilst yet we know certainly from *Scripture* that they had *Physicians* and *Plenty of Corn*, near seven hundred Years before in *Joseph's* time [a].

In the *Book of Job*, which is supposed by many to be older than *Moses* himself, the *use of Letters and Writing* is represented as a thing of long and antient standing [b]. And the *Israelites* themselves at their coming out of *Ægypt*, were not onely acquainted with *Letters*, but all the *common Arts and Sciences* useful to Life; which are not yet spoken of as new or lately invented, but referred to as things vulgar and of old familiar to them. *Moses*, we know, wrote down the Words of the Lord [c]; and *Josbua* wrote the Covenant he made with the People in the Law [d]: But they had written to little purpose, had not *writing* been known before, and in common use with the People; who were in Possession likewise of all the *other Arts*, as *Building, Statuary, Sculpture, cutting and setting of precious Stones, working in all sorts of Metals, Embroidery, Needlework* [e]. Now, where can we imagine them to have learnt these Arts? In fighting their way thro' an Enemy's Country; or in the Wilderness? That's impos-

[a] Gen. 1. 2. It. xlii. 1.

[b] Job xix. 23. viii. 8.

[c] Exod. xxiv. 4.

[d] Josh. xxiv. 26.

[e] Exod. xxxvi. &c.

sible: Or was *Moses* the Inventor of them? That's as impossible as the other [a]: For in the Hurry and unsettled State they were in, they had neither Ability nor Leisure to invent or learn any thing: Nor is it credible that the Scripture, which so carefully relates every other great Action of *Moses*, could have been silent on such an occasion, and omitted to give him the Glory of Inventions so useful and necessary to the Life of Man. So that 'tis as evident and certain, as both Reason and History can make it, that *Moses* and the *Children of Israel* came furnished and provided out of *Ægypt* not onely with *Letters* and the use of *Writing*, but all the other *Arts and Sciences*.

Besides, it was constantly objected to the *Jews* by their Enemies; that they *were of all Barbarians the most rude and illiterate, and the onely People in the World who had never contributed any share to the common Benefit of Mankind, by the Invention of any thing new or useful to Life* [b]: This was their Character in the World: And *Josephus* is so far from confuting it, that he owns the Charge; and excuses it from the Nature and Policy of their Government, which

[a] Mosem multi frivolis rationibus ducti scribendi auctorem faciunt. Kirch. Ob. Pam. l. 1. 2.

[b] Ἀφυσιάτως εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων; καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν εἰς τὸν βίον ἔνρημα συμβεβλῆσθαι μόνως. Jos. con. Ap. l. 2. c. 14.

obliged them to such an *immutable* and *inviolable observance of their Laws*, that they were restrained and cramped from attempting and striking out any thing new [a]. But if *Josephus* had dreamt of what Sir *Isaac*, you say, *has now discovered*, how readily could he have answered, that the Charge was so far from being true, that he could demonstrate the Jews to be the very *Authors and Inventors*, not onely of *Letters and Writing*, but of all other *Arts and Sciences* in the World; and to have had the actual Use and Possession of them for at least five hundred Years before they were known in *Ægypt*: Which tho' contrary to *Scripture* and the Testimony of all *History*, is yet the necessary Consequence of what you call Sir *Isaac's Demonstrations*.

Thus, instead of exposing the *Falseness of my Historical Facts*, as you had undertaken in your *Title Page*, you have exposed nothing at last but your own Ignorance both of *Sacred and Profane Antiquity*; for to those who have any Acquaintance with either, 'tis impossible to place the *Origin of Letters and Arts in Ægypt*, so low as *Solomon's time*.

But you insult me still further with Sir *Isaac's Discoveries*, and charge me with two Mistakes

[a] Οθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προφερόμενον ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἱκκλημα, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν εὑρετὰς, &c. *Jos. ibid. c. 20.*  
more,



more, made in open Defiance of them : First, for affirming the *Golden Calf made by Aaron to be nothing else but the Ægyptian God Apis*. Whereas Sir Isaac, you say, has proved, that *Apis was no other Person than Sesostris or Shisac, who reigned in the Days of Solomon* [a]. 'Tis strange, that I must not be thought *Orthodox* here, where I have the Concurrence of all the best Writers both *Ancient and Modern* to support my Opinion [b]. Philo tells us, that they turned the Absence of Moses to an occasion of Impiety, and forgetful of the true God, set themselves to copy the silly Fictions of Ægypt, and having made a Golden Calf after the Pattern of an Animal esteemed the most sacred in that Country, they offered impious Sacrifices, accompanied with abominable dancing and singing [c]. Which, as all Men of Learning observe, are the very Instances of the Worship paid to the God *Apis* [d]. Monsieur Rollin, in his short History of the *Ancient Ægyptians*, says, that the Golden Calf set up by the Israelites, was the effect of their Abode in Ægypt, and an

[a] Reply, p. 46.

[b] Hanc opinionem adfruit Philo, Targum Hierosolymitanum, Lactantius, Hieronymus, Kircherus, Bochartus, & Auctores ab eo citati, quibus accedit Grotius, &c. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. 1, p. 21.

[c] Philo de Vita Mos. p. 677.

[d] Probatione id non indiget; cum & ritus in confando vitulo adhibiti, tripudia, convivia chori, &c. id fatis superque demonstrent—Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. T. 1. p. 300. It. Spenc. ib.

*Imitation*

*Imitation of their God Apis, as well as those which were afterwards set up by Jeroboam [a]. And a Protestant Author quoted above, who never allows any thing that an orthodox Man can possibly deny, yet owns, that it was in Imitation of the Ægyptian Apis, that the Golden Calf was made in the Wilderness [b].*

But should we admit, you say, that the Ægyptian Apis was worshipped as early, as I represent it, yet there are no grounds from Scripture Story to conclude, that the Golden Calf in the Wilderness had any Reference to that Worship: Or that the God or Gods which the Jews intended to worship under that Image, were any Ægyptian Gods [c]. Now this shews the little Acquaintance you have with Scripture, as well as the little Attention you pay to Reason and the Sense of Things: The *Israelites* had no sooner got clear of the *Ægyptians*, than they fell to the making and worshipping of *Idols*: The Question is, what sort of *Idols* it was, that they were so fond of worshipping: And does not Sense and Reason, and even Necessity teach us that they could be no other, than what they had been so long acquainted with, and wor-

[a] See Antient Hist. of the Ægypt. done into Engl. p. 42.

[b] Itaque credibile est jam antiquitus tempore Israelitarum fuisse Idolum, cujus imitamine vitulum in deserto fecerunt—Leidek. de Rep. Hebr. p. 150.

[c] Reply, p. 47.

shipping for about two hundred Years before? For the learned *Spencer* has shewn, that during their Abode in *Ægypt*, they complied with *all the Customs and Idolatry of the Country* [a]. But *there's no ground*, you say, *from Scripture Story to make this Conclusion*: This is still stranger, that one who undertakes to defend *Scripture* with such Gravity, should betray so great an Ignorance of *Scripture Story*: For nothing is more clear and certain or more frequently inculcated in *Scripture Story*, than that the *Idolatry*, by which they so oft provoked God to punish them, and their Leaders and Prophets to reproach them, was such as *their Fathers had learnt and practised in Ægypt*. To give an Instance or two out of many.

*Joshua*, a little before his Death, very pathetically exhorts them, *to put away the Gods, which their Fathers served on the other side of the Flood and in Ægypt* [b]. And when they were in Possession of the promised Land, the same Inclination to the *Idols of Ægypt* still continued, as we find by the Reproofs of all the *Prophets*, on this very Account. *Then said I unto them, cast ye away every Man the Abominations of his Eyes, and defile not your selves with the Idols of Ægypt. But they rebelled against me—neither did they forsake the Idols of Ægypt* [c]. All

[a] De Leg. Hebr. l. 1. p. 20.

[b] Josh. xxiv. 14.

[c] Ezek. xix. 7, 8.

which

which is confirmed again by the Testimony of *St. Stephen*, if that have any weight with you, who mentions this very Case of the *Golden Calf*, as an Example and Proof of *their turning back again in their Hearts into Ægypt* [a].

The *second Mistake* you urge me with on this Head, is for asserting *Kircher to have shewn, that Hieroglyphicks or the sacred Characters of Ægypt were invented and used before Moses's Time*. But *Sir Isaac*, you say, *has shewn the contrary; that Thoth, the reputed Inventor of those Hieroglyphicks was Contemporary with Sesostris or Shisac, who plundered the Temple of Jerusalem in the Reign of Rehoboam: And that Moses therefore could not borrow, as I intimate, the Hieroglyphick of the Serpent from the Ægyptians* [b]. And here the Reader will observe another remarkable Instance of what I have more than once mentioned, *viz. your rash and partial way of forming your Notions from Scraps and separate Quotations*, without considering with any Care the very Authors you most admire. For tho' *Sir Isaac* asserts *Thoth*, who lived according to his Account in the time of *Solomon*, to have been *the Inventor of common Letters and Writing* [c], yet he is so far from ascribing to him the Invention of *Hieroglyphicks*, that he declares in exprefs terms, that the *Hieroglyphical way of*

[a] Act. vii. 39.

[b] Reply, p. 48.

[c] Newt. Chron. p. 210.  
writing



writing seems to have spread into lower Ægypt before the Days of Moses, and that some Reference is made to it in the second Commandment, which prohibits the worshipping of God under the Shape of Birds, Beasts and Fishes [a].

I shall conclude this Article with a Passage from Dr. Spencer, who has examined this Question with more Diligence, and treated it with more Learning and Judgment than any Man. *The mystical way of Writing in use with the Ægyptians, bears much Resemblance, says he, to that of the Hebrews.* This he confirms by the Authority of *Franciscus Valesius*, and *Clemens of Alexandria*, and then subjoins the following Remark. *Whence comes it then, that this Ænigmatical Stile of the Ægyptians and the Hebrews is found so exactly alike; but that God had so contrived his Law and its sacred Rites, that they might suit, as far as was possible, the Taste and Usage of that Age? For no Man who has any good Judgment can think, that the Ægyptians were in this Case the Disciples and Followers of the Jews; since 'tis allowed on all hands, that the Hieroglyphical Literature was ancients than Moses, and that the Ægyptians long before his Time used to cover their sacred Doctrines under the Veil of Symbols and Mystical Figures [b].*

[a] Ibid. p. 225.

[b] De Legib. Heb. L. 1. c. 15. p. 211, 212.

And thus, Sir, after all Sir *Isaac's Demonstrations*, and your Descant upon them, I shall once more venture to affirm, *that Ægypt was in Moses's Time a great and flourishing Kingdom, a learned and polite Nation.*

The last *Historical Fact*, you take notice of, *advanced*, as you say [a], *against the Truth*, is *the Confusion of Languages at Babel*. But how is this a Fact of my advancing? I have indeed made an Observation or two on the common way of explaining it; and 'tis this you contest with me, contrary to your own Declaration; not the *Fact* itself, but *my Reasoning* about it. Which shews, as I've already hinted, the low Shifts you are put to, to blow up the Envy and Clamour you would raise against me,

And here I must again put the Reader in mind, that I am far from forming, as you call it, any *peremptory Judgment against the Mosaic Story of Babel* [b]. All that I attempted in *my Letter*, was to shew the Rashness and Imprudence of Dr. *Waterland's* way of defending it, in denying all *manner of probability or colour of Reason* to any Objections that could be made to it: And as I have proved against the *Doctor* and yourself, that the *dispersion of Mankind* and *peopling of the World*, must of course be the

[a] Rep. p. 51.

[b] Rep. p. 52.

certain

certain and necessary effect of an *encreasing Multitude*, flowing from the Reason and Nature of Things, exclusive of any *Miracle or the extraordinary Interposition of God*; so what I pretend to shew now, is, that the *Variety of Languages* may with *some colour of Reason and Probability* be accounted for too in the same way, as the natural and necessary Consequence of such Dispersion.

Let's consider Mankind in its infant State, as yet but one Family, tho' daily growing and encreasing so fast, as to be forced in Proportion to that Encrease to break off and separate from each other into several Parties or Colonies in quest of fresh Quarters and Provisions. That this must needs be the case of such a Multitude has already been shewn from the Nature of Things; and 'twas from the same Necessity of Nature, that the *Nations of the Earth were divided or peopled*, as the *Scripture* says, *by the Sons of Noah* [a].

Now as this Dispersion must have happened, whilst Mankind was yet rude and barbarous, unacquainted with Arts and Sciences, and even the common Inventions and Conveniencies of Life; so the Production of such Arts, the Improvement of Knowledge and Science, and the new Demands of Life daily arising must neces-

[a] Gen. x. 32.

farily produce a *new Language* in each single Nation or separate People, unknown in a great measure to the rest of their Fellow Creatures. For as Names are generally but arbitrary Signs, not drawn from the Nature or Qualities of the Things themselves, but formed by Fancy or Accident and confirmed by Use; so every thing new must necessarily create not only a new Name, but a different one too from what the same thing, when invented, would obtain in a different People.

And thus a Difference of Languages being once established, the Mixture and Composition of several of them together, which follows of course from Conquests and the familiar Inter-course of different Nations, is another inexhaustible Source and Cause of multiplying that same Variety; just as the various changing and mixing the different Sounds of Bells produce an infinite Variation and Distinction of their Musick.

This short Hint of the *Origin of Languages* may suffice to shew the Folly of your asserting it to be *impossible, that there could have been such a Variety of them in the World, unless from some such Confusion as happened at Babel* [a]. The Reason you alledge for that *Impossibility* is trifling, without any Foundation in Fact or Truth:

[a] Reply, p. 52.



For you say, that if no such Miracle had happened, the *things which are of most common use in Life, and which all Men are every Day speaking of, could never have come in different Languages to be expressed by Words, which have not the least Affinity with one another.* But do not we see the same thing to have actually happened in all the modern Languages of the World, that are as it were but of Yesterday's rise and standing; that by mixing and blending the Sounds of concurring Nations *new Names* have been formed for the *most necessary Things of Life*, as well as the most obvious Parts of the Body?

One Part of *Italy* anciently called the *Mouth, Stoma*; the other Part, *Os*: now all call it *Bocca*; in French *Bouche*.

One Part called the *Eye, Ophthalmus*; the other *Oculus*: all now call it *Occhio*; in French *Oeil*.

One Part called the *Ear, Ouar*; the other *Auris*: all now *Orecchio*; in French *Oreille*, &c.

Now the grand Question you ask is, What could tempt Men to create new Words, where they had old ones before, especially in things of common use, whose Names were every Day in every Man's Mouth? The Answer is very easy: It was the natural and necessary Mutability of all human

Things, that forced them by degrees to change their *old Words* for the more prevailing Sounds of such People, as had then got the Superiority or principal Rule in the Country; an Effect that will always follow the same Cause: And should *Italy* or *France* be again conquered by *Barbarians*, *Tartars*, *Turks*, &c. a *new Language* would necessarily arise from such an Event; and *new Names* for the most common Things of Life, neither *Barbarian* nor *Italian*, but a Jumble and Mixture of both.

And thus, Sir, I have gone thro' all your Cavils to my *Letter*, without finding the least Proof or Overt-act of the *Infidelity* you charge me with, besides my daring to differ from Dr. *Waterland* and yourself about the Mode of explaining some Circumstances of the *Mosaic History*. One great Part of the *Letter* you make so free with is employed in Defence of the *Christian Religion* against *Infidelity*; on such a Plan as I then thought and still think the most effectual to confute the Author I had to do with, and expose the Vanity of those Principles by which he hopes to overturn Christianity: And as our Saviour himself, when charged absurdly with the *casting out of Devils by the Power of the Devil*, shews the Folly of that Calumny by one plain Observation, that a *House divided against itself cannot stand*; so 'tis silly and absurd to imagine, that I should take such Pains to destroy the Credit of a Writer,  
who

who deserves so well of *Infidels*, had I been of the Number myself, or inclined to list into that Service. But I am so far from favouring *Infidelity*, that I should be heartily glad to see an Answer to *Christianity as Old &c.* on a better Plan and Foundation than what I have proposed: But as I am very certain, that this has not yet been done by Dr. *Waterland*; so I am as sure, by the Specimen you have given us, that it can never be done by yourself.

As I am a stranger to your Name and Character, and have no other Light to form a Judgment of you by, but the Merit of the Piece I have been examining; so your injurious and insolent manner of treating me in that Piece, as an *Infidel and an Enemy to Christianity*; a *wilful Depraver of Facts and Quotations*, will fully justify any Freedom or Severity of Expression I may have used in this necessary Defence of myself; in which, however, if I have done you any Injustice, I shall always be ready, upon better Information and Acquaintance with you, to make you all the Amends and Satisfaction, that can be required from one, who in this, as well as every other Controversy, he may be engaged in, professes to have no other Motive, View or Intention whatsoever, than to search freely and impartially for the Truth.





S O M E  
 R E M A R K S  
 O N A  
 R E P L Y  
 T O T H E  
 D E F E N C E of the L E T T E R  
 T O  
 Dr. *W A T E R L A N D*.

Wherein the Author's Sentiments, as to all the principal Points in Dispute, are fully and clearly explained in the Manner that has been promised.

*The Intendment of my Discourse is, that Permission should be in Questions speculative, indeterminable, curious and unnecessary; and that Men would not make more Necessities than God made: which indeed are not many. The Fault I find and seek to remedy is, that Men are so dogmatical and resolute in their Opinions, and impatient of others Disagreeings in these Things, wherein are no sufficient Means of Union and Determination: but that Men should let Opinions and Problems keep their own Forms, and not be obtruded as Actions; nor Questions in the vast Collection of the System of Divinity be adopted into the Family of Faith: and I think I have Reason to desire this.*

*Taylor Lib. of Prophef. Ep. Dedic. p. 12.*



S O M E  
R E M A R K S  
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D E F E N C E of the L E T T E R  
T O  
D r. *W A T E R L A N D.*

S I R,

**Y**OU begin your *Reply* by observing;  
*that it was near twelve months before*  
*the Defence of my Letter appeared in*  
*print: yet you make no exceptions, you say,*  
*to the length of time. To what purpose then do*  
*you set out with an observation so impertinent?*  
*Why; to introduce another much more so;*  
*that a longer time would have past, before you*  
*could have prevailed with your self to have pub-*  
*lished such a Defence. And for that matter,*  
*you need not be in any pain; every reader, I*  
*dare say, will allow it; that had you taken*  
*twice twelve months, it would not have been in*  
*your power to have produced such an one.*

The next paragraph gives us a taste of *your vanity* : for you cannot hold out *ten lines*, without informing the reader, that you have forced me to *recant and plead guilty* to the charge of a *false quotation* : and lest it should be forgotten, you repeat it a few pages after, and once more *renew your triumph* over me [a]. And here, whatever credit it gives you, or whatever shame it brings to myself, I must confess it to be true ; that I have *recanted*, and *owned myself guilty of quoting falsely*, as you say, or as others will think, *too negligently*, in one instance : and had it been proved upon me in many more, would have owned it as readily : nor am I desirous to give any check to your pleasure, by observing, that it was in a point of no consequence ; for had it been of much greater, I should have retracted the more freely : the onely use I shall make of it, is to shew the difference of your conduct and mine on this occasion : for, pray Sir, what is it in this controversy that you have retracted ? Have you in any one instance *pleaded guilty*, or owned yourself confuted ? No, you *insist upon it, that you have advanced nothing rashly in your whole Reply* [b] ; *that you have made good every single instance of falshood charged upon me.*

As to the truth of what you *insist upon* ; we shall be better able to judge of it by and by :

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 25.

[b] Ibid. p. 3, 4.  
in



in the mean while, as I am here considering the difference of your temper and mine, as to *pleading guilty* on fair conviction ; I shall out of many instances, produce onely *three* or *four*, in which you ought at least to have *pleaded guilty* ; for if you have the Learning you pretend to, you must know yourself to be confuted ; if the love of Truth and Religion, must know it your duty to confess it.

1. I had produced in *my Letter* a testimony of St. *Stephen*, to prove that the *Ægyptians* were possessed of learning in *Moses's* time [a]. This testimony you treated with *such rashness*, as gave me occasion to charge you with overturning the very Foundations and *betraying the very Citadel of Revealed Religion* [b] ; by supposing that a person *full of the Holy Ghost*, and under the *actual influence of a Divine Spirit*, could possibly assert any thing *erroneous* : and in this I was supported by the express declaration of Dr. *Waterland* himself, whose Defence you had undertaken.

Now what do you reply to this ? Why, nothing at all directly ; but mutter onely somewhat in a *parenthesis* [c] ; as if St. *Stephen*, when filled with the *Holy Ghost*, might yet consistently affirm what was false of facts, that have

[a] Letter, p. 23.

[b] Defence, p. 71.

[c] Reply to Defence, p. 81.

*no relation to the Christian doctrine.* Which is to allow in effect, that he might be *full of the Holy Ghost*, and *full of error* ; *full of truth*, and *full of falsehood* too at the same time : a position, which *no Christian* will presume to defend ; and which if I had but darkly hinted, the usual titles of *Freethinker* and *Infidel* would have been thought too soft for me. As in the case then of *St. Stephen*, all people were scandalized at *your rashness* ; so your conduct would have been more edifying to the lovers of *Truth and Religion*, and more suitable to the zeal you pretend for both, had you endeavoured to repair *that Scandal*, by acknowledging your *error*, and *pleading guilty* to it ; and not, thro' a *false pride and vanity*, which every man must condemn, sought to bear down all before you, by *insisting, that you have advanced nothing rashly*.

2. As to the fact itself, of the *learning and politeness of the Ægyptians in Moses's time* : after all your cry against me for *the falsehood of my historical facts*, it proved at last the *only one*, in which you attempted to fix that charge upon me, by the help of what you call *Sir Isaac Newton's demonstrations and discoveries* ; where he has, as you declare, *demonstrated my notions to be false* [a]. In answer to this I have evinced the truth of my opinion so undeniably, from the testimony of *all history, both sacred and*

[a] Reply, p. 45.

*prophane* ; that every reader, I dare say, is convinced of it, and you yourself in fact allow it, by *leaving me in possession of the question* [a]. But you do it with so ill a grace, with so much reluctance and shuffling about it, as takes off all the credit of *a liberal and ingenuous* concession. For after you had *rashly* advanced *the authority of Sir Isaac* above *Scripture* itself, which cannot possibly be true, unless his *Demonstrations*, as you call them, be false ; instead of taking any blame to yourself, you throw it all upon me, for exposing that rashness and defending Scripture : for you labour to raise a clamour and envy against me for *insulting Sir Isaac* ; and with your *usual rhetoric* movingly exclaim, *how low is the great Newton fallen ! how ignorant in your opinion !* I have already declared my opinion of him to be *as great*, as I can possibly have of any *mortal* : yet the honour I have for his name must not deprive me of the privilege of judging for myself in all questions, that I am capable of understanding ; and of thinking differently even from *Sir Isaac*, or any man else, as oft as the force of reasons obliges me.

You dismiss the question by assuring me, that *whenever I shall be inclined to treat it more fully, there shall not want one, who will attempt to do justice to Sir Isaac's proofs* ; and with this

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 42.

promise you *leave me*, as you say, *in possession of it*. But is not this a poor childish evasion; the stale shift of those, who having nothing to say or give, refer themselves to another time? Will the reader believe, that you would have *left me in possession* of any thing, you could have wrested from me? much less of a question, which bears the greatest shew of Learning, of any in the Controversy; and of that *single historical Fact*, which you have charged me *with falsifying*? If you had any real intention *to do justice to Sir Isaac's proofs*, why did you not do it here; when it was your business to do it, when you were challenged to do it? I have entered fully and freely into an examination of them; have produced all I had to offer on the subject; which, however *slight* you declare it to be, will be thought by every body else sufficient and effectual to confute you: nay, what's worse; you plainly discover, that you think so yourself; and stand condemned in your own mind, and punished by a *silly pride*, that will not give you leave to own yourself in the wrong.

3. You charged me *in your Reply* [a], with *falsely asserting the Golden Calf in the Wilderness to have been made in imitation of the Ægyptian Apis*; and affirmed withal, that there was *no ground in Scripture-story* for my notion [b].

[a] Reply, p. 46.

[b] Ibid; p. 47.



In answer to which I observed, that the God *Apis* was worshipped in the *same form*, and with the *same ceremonies* as the *Golden Calf*: and that I had with me the concurrence of all the learned, who had touched this question, as well as of the *most zealous and orthodox defenders* of Christianity. And from *Scripture-story* I shewed; that the *Idolatry*, by which the *Israelites* so often provoked God, is said to be such as *their Fathers had learned and practised in Ægypt*; that the Idols they were fond of, even at the time of making the *Golden Calf*, are described as *Ægyptian ones*; and that St. *Stephen* alledges this very case of the *Calf*, as an instance of their *turning back in their hearts into Ægypt* [a]. Now can there be *any greater rashness* in a *Scholar*, than roundly to deny what men of learning from the reason of the thing and the testimony of history have been obliged to assert? Can there be *any greater* in a *Divine*, than to affirm, that *there is no ground in Scripture-story*, for what is so clearly confirmed by *many texts of Scripture*?

What then have you said to this in *your Reply*? Why, without giving any answer to *my Authorities*, or any other account of my *Scripture texts*; without alledging any *new Reasons*, or confuting the *old ones*; you stick firm to

[a] Defence, p. 83, 84. See Jerem ii. 18. Ezek. xvi. 26. xxiii. 3, 8.

your

your point, and tell us plainly, that what you before said, you *still assert*, that there are no grounds from Scripture-story, to think the Golden Calf to have been made in imitation of the Ægyptian Apis [a]. How is it possible to deal with such a Writer, whose maxim, as oft as confuted, is to *assert still*, and *insist* that he has advanced nothing rashly?

4. But the next instance is still the most flagrant. In your *Reply to my Letter*, you will mention, you say, *but one mistake more of mine under this article*: very modest truly, to mention *but one*, where with the same truth you might have mentioned *twenty*. The mistake is; that I had asserted on the authority of the learned, that *Hieroglyphicks or sacred Characters were used in Ægypt before Moses*: whereas you affirm, Sir Isaac to have shewn that they were not so much as invented till the reign of Rehoboam [b]. To this I answered, that Sir Isaac was so far from having shewn what you affirmed of him, that he had directly shewn the contrary; had expressly allowed the very thing I asserted, that *Hieroglyphicks were in use in the days of Moses* [c].

And what have you *replied* to this? not *one syllable*. But will not every one reflect on what

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 43.

[b] Reply, p. 48.

[c] Defence, p. 87.

You ought to have *replied*? Ought you not to have recalled the mistake, *so rashly* charged on me, and taken it to yourself? and the more readily, for being so gross an one? Ought you not rather to have done any thing than *assert* and *insist* with such assurance that you *had advanced nothing rashly*; that *every single instance of falshood was made good against me* [a]? 'Tis such perverseness and disingenuity as this that confirms men in *Scepticism*, instead of convincing them; by *insisting* for ever on exploded nonsense and cramming down people's throats what all men of sense must nauseate. Is it possible after this to expect any thing candid or impartial from you in the way of argument? no, we shall not be deceived; you preserve a true unity of character through your whole performance: 'tis all of a piece; equal and uniform to itself from one end to the other:

—*Servatur ad imum,*  
*Qualis ab incepto processerit, & sibi constat.*

To illustrate it a little farther:

The design of *your Reply*, as 'tis declared by yourself, was to set forth the *falsehood of my Quotations and Historical Facts*: and your very *Title Page and Introduction* prepared us to expect that you would make good your charge against *them all*. Yet I observed, that when you came

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 4.

to the particulars, all you attempted to cavil at were *fifteen out of fourscore*; and that even *two* of that number had *no reference to any quotation at all*. Let's just consider, what you have *replied* to this. As to the *two instances* I exclude from your *list* you are content, it seems, to exclude them too and *change the name if I do not like it* [a]: but why then were they added to the *account of Quotations*, when they had no relation to it, unless to enflame and enhance a *false charge*? You say withal, that you did not intend to attack *all my Quotations*, but *my original ones only* [b]. And by the instances you give, one would imagine, that by *original*, you mean *Latin and Greek ones*: as if my *English quotations*, which you do not meddle with, were not as truly *original* as those taken from *Herodotus*. But you define more distinctly your sense of *original ones*; telling us, that they are such, as I have not taken *at second hand on the authority of other writers*; for you *never meant to charge me with second hand Quotations, knowing that if they are false, the Authors I take them from are answerable for the falsehood of them*. Why then do you charge me with one drawn from *Maimonides*, on the *authority of Spencer*; and which *Spencer*, you say, *took from Buxtorf* [c]? Is not this by your own definition *doubly a second handed one*? Why do

[a] Reply to Def. p. 32.

[b] Ib. p. 6.

[c] Ib. p. 28.



you charge to my account likewise [a] another taken from *the Rabbins*, on the *authority of Lightfoot*? Is not this too a *second hand Quotation*? So that *your Reply* in this case, as in most others, is so shuffling and inconsistent, as shews you determined at all adventures rather to defend every thing *rashly*, than yield up any thing *ingenuously*.

'Tis not worth while to follow you again thro' all the cavils of *your first Reply*, which you now repeat and insist on in *your second*. A Controversy would be the business of life, if we must treat it at this rate, and dwell for ever on the same facts. I have already said enough on each, and am content to leave the merit of it to the judgment of the reader: however, to shew you that I have no other reason for declining any debate or argument you offer but meerly to save time and cut short unnecessary squabbles, I shall run over again with you *two or three* of your instances, where you fancy yourself the strongest, or have added some *new force* to your former exceptions.

You urge then afresh in *your second Reply*, with regard to what I have quoted from *Cicero*; that *Cicero's true Sentiments are not to be found under the character of his Academic Speakers* [b]: and tell us withal, *that it was on this very*

[a] Ib. p. 30.

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 8.

*Article that the Author of the Discourse on Freethinking received such chastisement from Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, that you never expected to see any one so venturesome, as to assert the same thing again.* And I readily allow, that the *Freethinker* you mention received a very proper correction from *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*; whose great learning likewise I am as ready as yourself to acknowledge: but I assure you, Sir, that at the time of writing *My Letter*, I did not recollect what either of those Authors had said on the Subject; but used on this, as on all other occasions, the right I claim of judging for myself: yet I am apt to think, that the *Learned Writer* we are speaking of, either does not insist so much, as you imagine, on what he has advanced, or thinks it at least consistent with the use I make of *Cicero*, from the principle he himself lays down; *that the reasoning is the same, from whatever quarter it comes, and the Authority not the less, though transferred from Cicero to a Stoic* [a]; for 'tis very credibly reported, that on reading *My Letter to Dr. Waterland*, before any name had been mentioned of the supposed Author, he did in very strong terms express his approbation of it.

But to return to the question: *Cicero* is allowed on all hands to have been a *professed* and

[a] Remarks on Discourse of Freethinking, Part II.  
p. 78.

*sincere follower of the Academy*: this he declares, in every part of his Works, and owns himself indebted for all the *Talents and Abilities* he was master of, to the precepts and principles of *that Philosophy*. Where then are we to look for his *real Sentiments* on any question; but where that question is treated professedly and elaborately according to *the principles and maxims of the Academy*? This is the case in his *second Book of Divination*, where he disputes in his own person; and where he declares, that the *chief purpose of that Disputation was to explode Superstition*: as it was likewise in his other *Book of the Nature of the Gods* [a]: which is not applicable to any other part in *this Book*, but that onely, which *Cotta* sustains. Dr. *W.* tells us, that *Tully's Disputants* in these very Books, *De natura Deorum, & de Divinatione*, debate in good earnest, and represent the sense of the several contending parties to the best advantage [b]. And if so, then the Sentiments affirmed by *Cotta*, must be considered as the Sentiments of *Cicero* himself, as they were the Sense of the *Academic party* represented to the best advantage.

And as to the declaration, thath *Cicero* makes in the end of *this Dialogue* in favour of the *Stoicks*; I am still of opinion, that it may be considered as a compliment to *Brutus*, to

[a] De Div. 1. 2. cap. ult.

[b] Script. Vind. Part II. p. 7.

whom this very Book is addressed; by giving a slight preference to *his Philosophy*; tho' himself at the same time *really followed and preferred* another kind [a]. But this you call *strange*, and wonder how I can suppose Cicero to have complimented with such insincerity [b]. But 'tis more *strange*, to hear a man of gravity talking so childishly. For what is it, I would know, that you take Cicero to have been? Some *Bigot perhaps in Religion*; who reckoned it a point of Conscience, not to depart a tittle from the rigour of his principles: or some *Pendant in Letters*; who thought it a diminution to his character, not to assert on all occasions the supreme prerogative of his own judgment. No Sir, I impute no *insincerity to him*, but what is suitable to his high merit and character, such as would dispose him, for the ease and politeness of conversation, not to insist always on the strictness of his Sentiments, but to yield up somewhat even of his own persuasion, to do a civility or pleasure to his Friend. A behaviour, which, however *strange* to you, will hardly do him discredit with any body else.

But the words I quoted are so far, you say, from giving Cicero's opinion, that they do not so much as represent Cotta's who speaks them:

[a] Quod genus Philosophiæ minime arrogans maximeque & constans & elegans arbitramur, quatuor Academicis libris ostendimus, *de Div. l. 2. 1.*

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 10.

This



This notion I have already treated as it deserves [a] : but you insist upon it again, and enforce it by a new proof, drawn from what Cotta in the close of his argument says to his Antagonist ; *facile me a te vinci posse, certò scio*. From which you infer, that Cotta's approbation of the Sentiments he had been asserting, is inconsistent with the declaration he makes of his knowing for certain that Balbus could confute him [b]. And here again you fall into the same mistake of treating a mere compliment, as if it were a solemn and categorical affirmation. A mere compliment, I say ; which every body who knows any thing of good manners or good sense will see at once to be such : though 'tis, I'm persuaded, *such an one*, as you will never make, of allowing any man able to confute you. Cotta, in closing his argument, throws it into the hands of Balbus, in a polite manner, by declaring, that he knew it to be in his power to confute him with ease : A civil turn of expression ; very common on all occasions of easy debate, whether publick or private : yet you argue from the *strict sense* of the words, as if Cotta were declaring his *strict Sentiments* : in which you contradict the very authority you follow, of Phileleutherus himself, who says, that in this very *Book of the Nature of the Gods*, none of the disputants concede ; all stand firm to their principles [d]. Besides ; whilst you

[a] Defence, p. 10. [b] Reply to Defence, p. 11.

[d] Remarks on Discourse of Freethink. Part II. p. 73.

lay so much stress on these words, and assert them *strictly* to bear, that *Cotta knew for certain*, &c. you forget what you had allowed the page before, that it was the peculiar character of the *Academy to know nothing for certain*.

Again; to shew that the part assigned to *Cotta* did in fact contain *Cicero's real Sentiments*, I observed, that in his *second Book of Divination*, where he disputes in his own person, he takes the same side and uses the same arguments, to confute the opinions of the Stoicks about Religion and Divination [a]. And here, after puzzling a while to find out my meaning, you suppose it at last to be, that *Cicero in this Book had disputed against Religion*: which you affirm to be false, and produce *Cicero's own words* to prove it [b]. But whatever you affirm, or whatever you take *Cicero* to mean, I here again declare; that *Cicero in his second Book of Divination disputes against Religion*, as it was explained and understood by the *Stoicks*; who held *Divination* to be an *essential and principal part* of it. *If there are Gods, there is Divination*, was fundamental with them; as you might have learnt from *Cicero* himself, who calls this very Article, *the fortress or citadel of the Stoical Religion* [c]. And to dispute against *Divination*

[a] Defence, p. 9. [b] Reply to Defence. p. 9.

[c] Arcem tu quidem Stoicorum, Quinte, defendis, si quidem ista sic reciprocantur, ut &, si divinatio sit, Dii sint, & si Dii sint, sit divinatio, *de Div. l. 1. 6.*

was not onely to dispute against *the Religion of the Stoicks*, but against the *popular or established Religion too*; which, as every one knows, was founded on the supposition of *the truth of Divination*, and most of *its offices and ceremonies* instituted on that sole foundation, which must of course fall to the ground, were *Divination* taken away [a].

But how then, you'll say, are we to understand *Cicero*, when he declares in this same Book, that he has no design *to take away Religion*? Very easily; by considering him onely as talking like a *Philosopher*: that though he was confuting the *superstitious notions of the Stoicks*, yet he did not mean by that to destroy *the Religion of Reason and Nature*, founded in the belief of *a God and his Providence*: and though he declared for preserving *the Rites and Ceremonies established by their Ancestors*; yet it was for reasons of policy, and the ends of government onely; not that he thought them any part of *the true and rational Religion*, which men of sense ought to follow [b].

M 4

You

[a] Cum omnis populi Romani religio in Sacra & in Auspicia divisa sit; tertium adjunctum sit, si quid prædictionis causa ex portentis & monstris Sybillæ interpretes, Haruspicesve monuerunt, *Nat. Deor.* 3. 2.

[a] Nam & majorum instituta tueri sacris cæremoniisque retinendis sapientis est: & esse præstantem aliquam, æternamque naturam & eam suspiciendam, admirandamque

You proceed to enforce an exception of yours, to a quotation from *Josephus*, about the use of *Circumcision in Ægypt*. Where I must recommend one general remark to the reader, and desire him to apply to *all your Cavils* of this kind; viz. that if on any occasion, thro' haste or eagerness, I have laid more stress on any *testimony*, than it will strictly and singly bear, yet 'tis always in cases, where I have either supported *the same fact by other full and clear authorities*, or where 'tis allowed and notorious, that it can be so supported. So that whatever may be objected to the exactness of *any particular quotation*, it makes no alteration in the state of the question itself. This will be explained by the instance before us.

I had quoted *Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo*, to prove, that *Circumcision was universally practised by the Ægyptians*; in confirmation of which, I added likewise a passage of *Josephus*; that does not, it seems, come up to the very point of *universal practice*: now without taking any notice of the other authorities, which establish the fact, you catch hold of this; run away with the cry of *false quotation*; and fancying, that you have got the reader on your

que hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi ordoque rerum  
cælestium cogit confiteri. Quamobrem ut religio propa-  
ganda est, quæ est juncta cum cognitione naturæ; sic su-  
perstitionis stirpes omnes ejiciendæ, *de Div. 2. 72.*

sive,



side, and can now persuade him to any thing, you presently form an *Hypothesis* out of your own brain; that the *Ægyptian Priests* onely were circumcised; that these Priests taught the Priests of other nations to be so too; and that it was not for the sake of cleanliness, as I translate καὶ ἀριότητος, but of purity; just as it was among the Jews [a]. All which particulars I have severally considered and confuted [b]. But this rude way of confuting does not please you; you call it *dropping the question and drawing off the reader from the charge brought against me* [c]. And 'tis indeed drawing off his attention from words, to things; from trifles, to truth; not, as you say, by dropping, but keeping strictly to the merits of the question: which you are forced in effect to give up, by declaring here, that whether the *Ægyptians* were generally circumcised or no, is no material inquiry [d].

To what purpose have you spent so much pains in inquiring about it? And why do you employ some pages of your *second Reply*, to prove the negative? Which you endeavour to do by the help of a fresh authority from *Josephus*; who in giving an account of the death of Apion, an *Ægyptian*, tells us, that he was forced to be circumcised on account of a distemper,

[a] Reply, p. 15.

[b] Defence, p. 19.

[c] Reply to Defence, p. 16.

[d] Ibid. p. 16.

*of which he died [a].* Upon which you give this decisive and declarative sentence; *that it may suffice to shew, both that the Ægyptians in general did not practise this rite, and that Josephus knew very well that they did not.* Yet this very fact, from which you decide so dogmatically, will be found at last very little to your purpose; and like some other authorities you alledge, tho' it has some shew, has no foundation. The thing asserted is, that *the Ægyptians under the flourishing state of their antient Monarchy and Religion were generally circumcised:* and you to confute it, oppose the case of a *single Ægyptian;* which is not pretended to have happened, till after *their Monarchy and Religion* had been dissolved, and the Country converted to a *Roman Province.* How judicious and conclusive such reasoning is, I shall leave to the reader.

But you tell me here, that *I have as ill luck as ever at quotations [b];* because I observe, that *Josephus makes no other reflection on the account Herodotus gives, of Circumcision's being borrowed from Ægypt; than that of such things every one may think as he pleases.* This you affirm, to be *a most false representation of the matter.* To which I may answer, that whether it be *true or false,* it is of no consequence to any point in debate: The use I make of *Josephus,* is to shew,

[a] Reply to Def. p. 18.

[b] Ibid. p. 19.

that

that in his account of *scriptural facts*, he allows a *greater latitude* of interpreting and explaining them, than *modern Advocates* do ; and if he really does so, in *facts* of greater moment and importance to *Religion* than this, as I shall clearly shew hereafter ; then the use I make of him is certainly just, however I have represented him here : but I shall insist upon it withal, that in this very case, 'tis not *my representation*, but *your charge* upon me that is *false*. You imagine, that the reflection made here by *Josephus*, that *of such things every one may think as he pleases* ; relates wholly to the *Story* of Shifac's *plundering the City and Temple of Jerusalem* ; and to the question, whether *Herodotus* refers to the *same event*, or *no* : and I allow, that the account of this story, and the proof of its being mentioned by *Herodotus*, make the substance of the paragraph : and what is said about *Circumcision*, seems thrown in by way of confirmation of it : upon which immediately follows the *reflection* above mentioned, that closes the whole : which, however applicable to the other contents of the paragraph, yet cannot be interpreted so, as to exclude a reference to the *case of Circumcision*, that immediately precedes it : nay, by all rational construction must be thought, if not solely, yet principally to refer to it ; because as far as I have observed or can recollect of *Josephus* ; tho' he uses the *same reflection* very often, yet he never applies it but to *some fact or point of great moment*, to the truth or essential character

character of the *Jewish Religion*. Now as the story of *Shifac* in this paragraph is of no consequence to the *Jewish Nation or Religion*; so 'tis rational to think *the reflection*, 'tis closed with, applicable to the case of *Circumcision*, which is of consequence. But of this we shall be better able to judge, after I have explained my sentiments on the other more important passages of *Josephus*.

I shall just touch another of your cavils, which you insist on again in your said Reply. I had observed of the *Ægyptians*, that they were more addicted to miracles and prodigies, than all other people. And referred myself for the truth of my observation to a passage of *Herodotus*: in which I deceive my reader, you say [a], at the expence of a false quotation. To this I answered; that the word *τέρατα* in the original, on which the sense of the passage turns, carries the notion of miracles, as well as prodigies; that a superstitious regard to the one necessarily implied the same regard to the other; and that in fact, it was certain from other authorities, that the *Ægyptians* were just as much addicted to miracles as to prodigies [b]. Now what do you say to all this? Do you deny any one article of it? No. Do you pretend to say that *τέρατα* does not signify miracles? No. You own it does. Do you shew or so much as hint, that the *Ægypt-*

[a] Reply, p. 23, 24.

[b] Defence, p. 48.



tians were not as much addicted to the one as to the other? No; all that you do, is to assert and insist still, that the word, *miracles*, is neither expressed nor implied in the sentence [a]. For my part, in all disputes of this kind, 'tis my care to attend to *things*, instead of cavilling at *Words*; and where I allow the general purpose of a testimony to be true, am content to overlook any little inaccuracies of rendering it; for if like you, I was disposed to squabble and fight my way thro' every syllable of a quotation, instead of the few you except to of mine, there is hardly a single one of yours, that I could not with the same truth charge with *falsehood and misrepresentation*. Let's take for instance the first Greek one we find, at the bottom of your page; which you translate thus: *for all the Ceremonies of the Temple, and a thousand other precepts would be neglected, if we were to confine ourselves onely to the Allegorical Signification* [b]. Now the word *All*, about which you make such a rout in both your *Replies* [c], is neither expressed nor understood in the *original*; nor is there any word that answers directly to, *Ceremonies*; nor so much as a tittle, that signifies *Precepts*; and what you translate, *a thousand*, ought to be rendred *ten thousand*;

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 22.

[b] Τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγιστείας καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀμελήσομεν, εἰ μόνοις προσέξωμεν τοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλούμενοις.  
Ibid. p. 51.

[c] See Reply, p. 23. Item, Reply to Def. p. 20  
what

what you render, *confine ourselves to*, ought to be rendered *attend to*. Why then may not I exclaim here with as much justice as you do ; *what gross misrepresentation is this*, where there are almost as many offences *against strict Translation*, as there are words ? But I scorn to waste my time and pains in such trifling ; shall give up all *that field of Criticism* to yourself ; nor envy you the credit of Learning and Judgment that such arts can procure you.

As to *your other Cavils at my Quotations*, I shall leave them where they stand to the judgment of the Reader ; and if he compares what I have said in defence of them, with the force of what you have objected, I need be in no pain for the judgment he will make : *the quotations themselves* are produced to shew, that the *Jews had borrowed some of their ceremonies and customs from Ægypt* : this is the *only point in question* ; and if you had *replied* to any purpose, or had any real concern for truth, 'twas your business to have *joined issue* on that ; to have examined into the real state of it : which after *two Replies* you have industriously declined. The Fact has been constantly asserted by men of the greatest Learning, and the most conversant in both *Jewish and Ægyptian Antiquity* [a] ;

[a] Non negaverim Mosem cum jura conderet, retinuisse leges aliquas Ægyptior. &c. Huet. Dem. Evangel. 88. xi.

without any suspicion that the acknowledgment of it could be of any disservice to *true Religion*. Calmet, the most diligent of the modern Commentators, tells us, *that as Moses came out of Ægypt, and the people, whose Leader he was, had been trained in all the customs, laws and religion of that country; it was not possible for him as Legislator to propose any thing to them, but in conformity to the ideas, impressions and habits they were prepossessed with. That they had a surprising inclination to Idolatry, from their education in an idolatrous country, where they gave themselves up to the established Religion with pleasure and greediness, as it was adapted to their genius, and agreeable to their inclination: and that we must attend to, and carry this notion along with us, in order to enter into the design and spirit of the Mosaic writings* [a]. Dr. Spencer's famed work on this very subject is at this day greatly and justly admired in all *Christian countries*; and his zeal for *Revealed Religion*, so little questioned on that account, that Archbishop Tenison left fifty pounds by will, as a reward to the publisher of a new Edition of it, with the posthumous additions of the Author; which we have seen not long since executed by a learned Divine: and to declare my own opinion of the fact; I take it to be so clearly grounded in the testimony of History, both sacred and prophane, that if it cannot be looked upon as absolutely

[a] Comment. Pref. Gen. p. vi. and p. x.

certain,

certain, yet it is at least so *highly probable*; that to deny it rashly and peremptorily, as *some Divines* are disposed to do, will always do mischief instead of service to the *Christian Cause*, by giving disgust and offence to candid and impartial inquirers. For *nothing*, as Bishop Tillotson wisely observes [a], *has been more pernicious to the Christian Religion, than the vain pretence of men to greater assurance concerning things relating to it, than they can make good; the mischief of which is this; that when discerning and inquisitive men find that men pretend to greater matters, than they can prove, this makes them doubt of all they say, and to call in question the truth of Christianity itself.*

'Twas this reflection, that gave rise to this Controversy; and the motive of publishing my *Letter to Dr. W.* was a persuasion, that he was pursuing the very method condemned by the Archbishop; taking *greater matters* upon himself *than he could prove*; dogmatizing with *greater assurance* of things than he could *make good*: and the intention of my address to him was to shew him the danger of what, in my judgment, he had *rashly* undertaken and was *rashly* executing; and not to declare *any sentiments* of my own: to convince him, that his *arbitrary manner* of deciding questions of the utmost nicety and difficulty; by not allowing

[a] *Tillotson's Works*, Vol. III. p. 452.



*the least colour of reason or probability to any objections ; but imputing them all to the ignorance, malice and wickedness of the objectors, was not the proper way to convince, but to shock every rational Sceptick. It was with this view I proposed, what I have offered in My Letter, about the History of Man's fall, Circumcision, the Confusion of Languages, the Dispersion of Mankind, &c. in order to shew the literal account and solution of those facts to be charged with difficulties, sufficient to puzzle even the strongest reason : which, instead of being slubbered over, as trifling and insignificant, must be candidly owned and calmly and freely examined, before Religion can be established on a firm and solid foundation.*

And 'tis certain at least after all our endeavours, that some things will be found in *Scripture*, which no wit of man can account for, or reconcile to *the natural dictates of reason* : and which must be left to *the wisdom of God* to clear up in his own good time. *Porphry*, as *St. Jerom* says, *used to object and demand, for what reason a merciful God could for so many ages, from Adam to Moses, and from Moses to Christ, suffer whole Nations to perish thro' ignorance of his will and law : and why it was necessary for Christ to come so late, and not before an innumerable multitude of men had been lost ? Which question*, says he, *the blessed Apostle, in his Epistle to the Romans, most prudently handles, owning his*

ignorance, and referring it to the knowledge of God. Which ought to teach all others, as he says, the same modesty of owning their ignorance too in questions of this sort [a].

But neither the example of the *Apostle*, nor the admonition of the *Father*, can restrain the adventurous Spirit of our modern Champions from undertaking this very question; and proving, that, whatever St. Paul thought, there's no occasion to own any ignorance at all; for that the fact objected is found at last to be false, and there really was *no period of time*, in which the Nations of the world wanted light and opportunity of knowing the *Revealed Will and standing Law of God* [b].

But to resume what I was saying, of the *History of Man's Fall, the Confusion of Languages; and the Dispersion of Mankind*: As the first is a point of great moment, I shall take occasion to explain myself fully upon it by and by: in order to which I shall here dismiss the *two last*, by desiring the Reader onely to recollect the *Observation* made above; that I was not declar-

[a] Quam quæstionem beatus Apostolus ad Romanos scribens, prudentissime ventilat, ignorans hæc, & Dei concedens scientiæ. Dignare & tu ista nescire quæ quæris. Concede Deo potentiam sui, nequaquam te indiget defensore, *Hier. ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag. Op. T. IV. Par. II. p. 481. Edit. Bened.*

[b] See *Scripture Vindicated*. Par. II. Postscript.

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ing here any *Sentiments* of my own, but shewing onely the insufficiency of what was advanced by Dr. *W.* And if on this, or any other occasion, I have used a *greater freedom or levity of expression*, than is thought decent on *questions of such importance*; I hope it may be some excuse for me, that I was writing as a *person concealed*: a circumstance, that naturally disposes to more freedom, than a Man would otherwise take; especially when he hopes by that very means the more effectually to disguise his real character; as well as to raise an attention to what he has to offer by *some sting and spirit* in the manner of offering it. Dr. *W.* greatly contemns *his Antagonist*, for being *dull, insipid and without poignancy* [a]: so that it was necessary for me to address him in a *different stile*; that if I did not happen to please, I might at least have the fortune to escape his contempt. With this reflection let the reader review what I have said on the *story of Babel*; and he will see, that I have passed *no peremptory judgment* upon it; declared no other opinion but this; that *the origin of languages may, with some colour of reason and probability, be accounted for in a natural way.*

As for the *Dispersion of Mankind*, I am very certain, that Dr. *W.*'s account and your defence of it will appear *absurd and irrational* to every

[a] Scripture Vindicated. Par. II. p. 36.

judicious reader: and as I do not find in *Scripture*, that there was *any miracle or extraordinary interposition of God* employed to effect it; so I think myself at *liberty* to solve and explain it in any manner agreeable to *reason*: what I have proposed to that purpose, is, in my judgment, a cause fully adequate to the end, and what could not fail to bring it about, as soon as there was occasion, from the *very nature and necessities of human kind*.

I shall now proceed to give some account of the use I make of *Josephus's Authority*; as well as to consider the force of your objections on this head.

In the first place then, you allow *Josephus* to have been a *wise and excellent Apologist of the Jewish Religion and Government*, and a *true lover of both*; and suggest several reasons, why it would not have been *prudent in him*, to have *insisted strongly on Moses's Miracles, or the Divine Authority of the Jewish Religion*; that *he knew he was treading on dangerous ground*; and that *'twas his business to guard against giving offence to the prejudiced Heathens*; that in many parts of his *Antiquities*, where he relates a *Miracle*, he leaves his readers to think of it, as they please, without exacting from them a full belief of it: and in short, that in his *Book against Apion*, he wholly omits the mention of *Moses's Miracles* [a].

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 66. &c.

Now



Now this, Sir, is owning much more, than is necessary to justify the *full use* I endeavour to draw from him : that as he, *whose sincerity in his Religion* is confessed, and *whose prudence in the defence of it* applauded, allowed a *liberty of thinking*, and a *latitude of explaining* some *scriptural facts* of great moment ; so our *modern Advocates* ought to temper *their zeal* with the *same prudence* by leaving likewise *some liberty* in the explication of the *same facts*. And your own account proves my inference to be not onely just, but temperate too : for I do not contend for *all the liberty* which *Josephus* has given ; but where he has given *so much*, that our *Apologists* might reasonably indulge *some*.

*Josephus's* design in his *Book against Apion* was, by your own account of it, exactly the same with Dr. *W.'s* in his *Book against Christianity as old, &c.* that is, *to confute [a] the particular objections and calumnies of Infidels and prejudiced persons, who represent Moses as an Impostor, and his laws as making men worse instead of better.* Now if *Josephus* acted wisely in not pressing, as you say, *too forwardly the Miracles and Divine Authority of Moses ; but endeavouring by a prudent and dextrous way of treating those points to soften and win the Infidels to his side :* then 'tis reasonable to infer, that Dr. *W.* not

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 67.

onely might, but ought to have followed his example, in points at least of less moment : and such a conduct must have been esteemed in the Doctor, what you declare it to have been in *Josephus* ; the effect of a *sincere zeal and love for his Religion*.

You tell us very gravely, that *Josephus had no view either in his Book of Antiquities, or That against Apion to make converts to Judaism; but onely to give the Greeks and Romans a favourable opinion of the Jewish Nation* [a]. But does not an elaborate Attempt to recommend his Religion as effectually as he can, and to turn the prejudices conceived against it into a favourable opinion of it, necessarily imply a design of making converts ? If not, I am at a loss to know what other way there is of making any. The Bishop of Meaux's famed Piece, in which he dresses up so moderate and qualified a Picture of Popery, as to offend the zealots even of his own Religion, was not written, you may say, with any view to make converts ; but to give the Protestants onely, a favourable opinion of the Popish Religion, and take off their prejudices against it : but would not people be apt to laugh at you for saying so ? The case is much the same in what you say of *Josephus*.

Your next observation is more trifling : that

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 65.

it would not have been safe for him to have acted otherwise ; that his life was at the mercy of the Heathens ; and to have pressed the Divine Authority of his Religion more strongly, would have been looked on as an open disparagement of the Roman Religion and Laws too. And what he says therefore of Minos was for fear of offending those, who had received his laws as given from Heaven [a]. But was there then in Old Rome, as there is in the New, an Inquisition established for the security of the Publick Religion ? Or what zeal could a Roman Emperor have for the laws of Minos, made so many ages before, for the little Island of Crete ; which by that time, we may suppose had been long antiquated ? No, Sir, all this reasoning of yours has no foundation in truth or history ; 'tis merely talking at random, and deserves no other answer, than that of ridicule.

As to the *Book of Jewish Antiquities*, the fact is ; that *Josephus*, in order to take off the prejudice and aversion, which the World had generally conceived to the Jews, and to give the best impression he was able of their Religion and Polity, undertakes to draw out a perpetual History of both, from the Records of the Old Testament, in a language at that time the most universally known and practised of any other : declaring, that his intention was not to vary a

*tittle from what he found in the Sacred Books ; and that he was to be considered onely as a mere Interpreter of them [a].* Now in the execution of this work you observe, that *Josephus expresses himself very plainly in many passages, on the Article of Moses's Inspiration and the divine origin of the Law [b].* And reason good, that he should do so ; where he professes to speak nothing but what the *Scriptures plainly dictate* : so that, as oft as the *Scriptures* have occasion to mention the *Inspiration of Moses*, so oft was he obliged to mention it too, from the very nature of the task he had undertaken : and in all such places we can collect nothing certain of *Josephus's real opinion*, but of the *sense of Scripture* onely ; which he had obliged himself to follow. But whenever he *varies from that Scripture* ; as he does remarkably in many cases ; *contrary to his own declaration* : and without any other reason than what depended on his own choice ; and where in the relation of any fact, he gives a *different turn* to it, from what we find in the *Mosaick account*, 'tis there, we are to look for the *Sentiments and Principles of Josephus*.

Now all men of learning observe, that *his History* is in many particulars *very different from that of Moses* ; that *he adds some things of his*

[a] Proœm. in Lib. I. Antiq. & Lib. X. c. x. §. 6.

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 65.



own; *wholly omits* others; and interprets most of them so, as to give them the easier credit *with the Heathens*; and this especially, in the *article of Miracles*. *Fabricius* has collected the censures of learned men upon him on this very account [a]: and *Peter Brinch*, a learned Divine and critical reader of him, has given us his own; where he tells us, *that it was a fault not uncommon with him, to relate the Miracles from Sacred Writ in such a manner, as to make them even doubtful and suspected* [b]. For instance; where he gives an account of the *wonderful appearance of God on Mount Sinai*, he interposes this reflection very usual with him; *of these things the reader may think as he pleases; 'tis necessary for me to relate them, just as they are written in the Sacred Books* [c]. To the story of *Nebuchadnezzar*, he subjoins the same reflection; *let no man blame me for delivering these particulars, as I found them in the old Books: for in the beginning of my History I declared, that I acted onely the part of a Translator, &c.* [d]. And in the next Chapter, after an account of *Daniel and his Prophecies*, he concludes the Book by saying; *for my part, as I have found and read these things,*

[a] Vid. Fabricii Biblioth, Gr. 1. 4. c. 6. it. Havercamp. Edit. Joseph. Vol. 2. Append. p. 57.

[b] Nec rarum Josepho istud vitium est, quod divina ex sacris literis miracula ita referat, ut dum refert, dubia lectoribus & suspecta reddat, &c. Edit. Havercamp. *ibid.* p. 301.

[c] Antiq. l. III. c. v. §. 2. [d] *Ibid.* l. X. c. x. §. 6.

so I have written them; but if any man be disposed to think differently about them, he shall not be blamed by me for his different way of thinking [a]. Lastly, in the account of the Prophet *Jonah*, excusing himself, as it were, for delivering a story so strange, he twice puts the reader in mind, *that he writes onely what he takes from the Scripture* [b].

'Tis to no purpose to collect any more instances of this kind, or *the variations* he has made from *Moses*, or the *natural causes* hinted in the case of *some miracles*; or *his omissions* of some remarkable facts, as of the *Golden Calf*, the *Brazen Serpent*, &c. all supposed to be done with the same view of recommending his *Religion* to Strangers. The use I make of this is, to shew the truth of what I had gathered from *this very Book of Antiquities*, that his real *Sentiments of the Divine Authority of Moses* were not carried to *that height*, to which our *Divines* commonly push theirs: and this you modestly call, *the rashness of my assertion, or the negligence of my reading* [c]; though all men of learning allow it; even those, who allow at the same time, as you do, that *Josephus was sincere and zealous in his Religion*. And if, zealous as he was, he took a *liberty* himself, and indulged it to others, of solving by different ways the great

[a] Antiq. l. X. c. xi. ad. fin.

[b] Ibid. c. x. §. 2.

[c] Reply to Defence, p. 75.

events recorded in *Scripture* ; a conduct, which you, in effect, declare to be *wise and prudent* ; it follows of course, that *the inference*, I made, is reasonable, and what I must insist upon again ; that our *zealous Advocates of Christianity*, ought for the same reasons of *not giving offence to Infidels*, and *hurting the cause they would vindicate*, to follow his example at least so far as to use *some degree of temper and moderation*, where he is justly thought to have used *too much* of it.

From this general view of *Josephus's Writings*, I come once more to consider *the particular passage* in dispute between us taken from his *Book against Apion* [a] : which you call my *Master-piece of Quotation*. I had before observed that the dispute turned wholly on a *point of fact*, about what *Josephus had or had not said* in this place ; and that I was not declaring *any opinion of my own*, but examining *onely into that fact*. But as this caution has not proved sufficient to guard me from *envy and clamour*, so I must again beg the reader to attend more distinctly to the *true state of the Question*, and not to charge on me the Sentiments, which the nature of the Controversy leads me to charge on *Josephus*.

Now after a due examination of what you have offered in *your second Reply* to my exposi-

[a] Contr. Ap. lib. II. c. 16.

tion of the passage before us ; I find myself obliged to persist still in what I had before declared ; that we cannot by any fair and rational construction draw out of this paragraph *any notion of the Divine Mission and Inspiration of Moses*, in that high sense of it in which 'tis commonly received, without the help of that *prejudice and prevention*, we come possessed with, in favour of the notion we search for. You tell us yourself, that *in this Book against Apion the Invention of Moses's miracles is intirely omitted* [a] : and does not this concession prepare us for the very interpretation I give ? To confirm which, we are to consider the *general tenor and scope* of the paragraph ; to connect one part with another so, as to make them severally consistent with the obvious sense of the whole : and not to dwell, as you do, on the rigorous meaning of *two or three* words, which cannot be admitted, without controuling and overruling the clear sense of *an hundred*. But since much more has already been said on this passage, than the merit of it will justify ; I shall take notice onely of *one of the difficulties* you charge in *your second Reply* ; since the clearing up of this will be decisive and effectual to the confutation of all the rest.

The difficulty I mean relates to the last sentence in the paragraph, which I have translated

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 67, 68.

thus.



thus. Some have thrown the form of their publick affairs into a Monarchy; others into the power of a few, or an Oligarchy: others into the multitude, or a Democracy: but our Lawgiver had no regard to any of these, but if a man may use an expression so forced, made the form of Government be instituted, a Theocracy [a]. Where the last words, I say, clinch the whole to the sense I had been establishing. But you object here, that I have falsely and absurdly translated the words, Θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε, he made his Government a Theocracy: whereas, it plainly signifies, what the Old Latin Interpreter gave; he declared it to be so; he proposed, and delivered it, as a Theocracy [b]. And when the Words, you say, are thus rightly rendered, they are very far from clinching the whole, or confirming my explication. Here then we join issue; if my translation be true, you will own it to clinch the whole to my sense; if yours appear to be so, I will retract and recall mine. The issue is short; let's proceed to the trial of it.

And as in all questions of this kind, the first inquiry ought to be about the turn and meaning of the whole connected sentence; so we will first consider here, to what sense of the word, ἀπέδειξε, the context directs us. Josephus is giving a short hint of the form of the Jewish

[a] Defence, p. 29. See the whole passage.

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 69, 70.

Government, in the institution of which he tells us, *that the Lawgiver had no regard to any of the different kinds subsisting in the World, whether Monarchy, Oligarchy, or Democracy*: now these words, you will own, are applicable to *Moses, acting authoritatively in his own proper person*: but they are not onely impertinent, but absurd, if what immediately follows is not to be applied so too: they lead us to imagine, that he was projecting a *form of Government*, and looking abroad into the world to consider *the various kinds of it* among other people; and that he resolved at last to take his pattern from none of them, but to make his own of a different kind from them all. For what could *Josephus* mean by telling us, that *Moses had no regard to any other form*; if he meant in the next words to tell us, that he had *no hand in the making even his own form*? 'Tis nothing at all to the purpose what he had *regarded or not regarded*, had it not been with a view to the *making of a Government*: and thus the context is not onely impertinent, but inconsistent with itself, if your sense be admitted.

As to the word itself, ἀποδείξαι, I may safely appeal to all, who have a competent knowledge of *Greek*, whether in this place and form of construction it ought not to be rendered to the sense I have given it; of *making, constituting, appointing*: and though it may have likewise, that of *declaring or proposing*; yet it must be

be of something *formed* and *constituted* by him who *declares* and *proposes* it; and includes therefore at the same time *the notion of making*. Many examples of this may be found in the *Classic Authors*, though 'tis not easy to recur to them, as soon as they are wanted. One I have recollected from *Josephus* himself, in *Jethro's advice to Moses*; about placing *Judges or Rulers* over the people. The words are ἀρχοντας ἀποδείξεις, thou shalt *make or constitute Rulers*: and a little lower, he uses a different word of the same force, τάξεις, thou shalt *appoint or place over them* [a]. I have met with another in *Plutarch*, who speaking of *Lycurgus*, in the very case of *moulding his Government*, tells us, how by a method learnt in *Ægypt*, he made it at last truly elegant and perfect. Ἀσείν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολίτευμα, καὶ καθαρόν, ἀποδείξαι [b]. *Hen. Stephens's Thesaurus* furnishes several instances from *Plato*, *Xenophon*, &c. where he renders the word by *facio*, *efficio*, *reddo*, *creo*, *constituo*: that is, to *make*, *effect*, *create*, *constitute*: I shall just mention one, where *Xenophon* speaking of the proper choice of *Masters* for the *Youth*, says, that *such of the older sort used to be chosen, who were the most likely to make their children the best men*: τὰς παῖδας βελίστους ἀν ἀποδεικνύναι [c]. And a little after, for the same thing, he uses, βελίστους παρέχειν.

[a] Antiq. l. 3, 4.

[b] Plut. in Vita. Lycurg. p. 41.

[c] Institut. Cyri. l. 1.

But

But you tell us withal, that the *old Interpreter* had rendered this place, by *declaring his Government a Theocracy*: an *Authority* I doubt, that will add very little weight to your cause; *Scaliger* declares your *old Interpreter* to have been a *great blunderer* [a]. And for what reason have the *Critics* discarded him, but that they found him to be so; and his version here contrary to sense, and contrived onely to serve an *Hypothesis*; which however true, cannot derive any additional credit from a *false translation*? Have not *Hudson* and *Havercamp*, the *learned Editors of Josephus*, translated the word, as I have given it? And did they not understand *Greek*, and the *Author* they have published? You must *reply* distinctly to all this, before you can make any impression in favour of what you advance. You must shew *the context* to give no colour to my exposition: you must shew *the word itself* to bear no such meaning: you must shew that men of the first name in learning not to have understood *Greek*: and when you have done this, you may then claim the credit of restoring your *old Interpreter* to his *old Honours*. In the mean while, should the reader allow my translation to be just, he must allow withal, what you seem to do too, that it *clinches the whole paragraph to the sense* I have given of it.

[a] Pref. Hudf. Edit. Joseph.

I shall



I shall now follow you through the examination of what you call *the most important part of my Defence*; in which you charge me with *attempting more openly to weaken the authority of Moses* [a]: where after you have collected into one view, what you call my *scattered Sentiments*, you draw up the state of the controversy into *two points* [b]. 1. *Whether Moses's account of the Creation and Fall of Man is to be understood literally or no.* 2. *Whether the Religion and Laws which Moses delivered to the Jews had a divine Origin and Authority.* To these two points I shall answer distinctly; and to shew how ready I am to humour you, as far as I am able, will give what you require, *a full and explicit account of my thoughts* upon them.

But in order to clear my way to them, it will be necessary to consider what you have objected, as usual, to *two quotations* of mine that relate to the same subject.

In support of my exposition of *the paragraph*, we have been examining, and to shew, that *Josephus had put Moses on the same foot with Minos and the other old Lawgivers*; I took occasion to observe, that this was so far from *weakening Moses's Authority*, that it tended to *strengthen it* with those, to whom it was addressed; who had the highest esteem and opi-

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 46.

[b] Ibid. p. 48.

nion of *those very Lawgivers*, and were so far from being scandalized at the *fictions* contrived by them for *the good of the people*; that they bragged of them the more for that very reason, as the *greatest benefactors of mankind*. This I confirmed from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Plato*. But to these, you say [a], 'tis not worth while to answer; they are *Heathen authorities*, and I am welcome to them: and as much *Heathens* as they are, they are welcome, I assure you, to me: I am proud of their acquaintance; and though I do not intend to die in their faith, yet resolve to live in their friendship.

Of these *Plato* particularly, who has written on *Government* more fully than any of the Antients, affirms it to be the *chief duty of a Magistrate*, to contrive such *Fables, Fictions or Political Lies*, as he thinks the most effectual to instil into the people a *reverence for the Laws*, and dispose them to a *willing obedience* to them. Now the *Greek Fathers* I observed, were possessed likewise with a common opinion, that *Plato* had diligently studied the *Books of Moses*, and copied so many of his notions from them, that he was called by some the *Attick Moses*: and that *Clemens of Alexandria* and *Eusebius* do in a manner assert, or say at least much the same thing, that *Plato's notion of the use of those Fables and Fictions was borrowed from the Mosaic*

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 61.

Writ-

*Writings* [a]. But here you tell me flatly, that *I have misrepresented Clemens, and acted still more unfairly with Eusebius* [b], whom since I have treated, it seems, *the worst of the two*, I will endeavour to do justice to in the first place.

And on a review of the passage taken from him, I find myself so far from having treated him *unfairly*, that I have ascribed nothing to him but what his very words plainly and directly express. In the *eleventh Book of his Preparation*, he sets out by undertaking to shew, *the exact agreement of the Greeks, and above all of Plato, with the Books of Moses, in all the most important points*. And the subject of the Book is to prove this by a comparison of the particulars. He opens the *twelfth Book* by telling us, that the purpose of it is to shew, *the particular agreement of Plato with the Jewish Oracles, just like the harmony of a well-tuned Lyre, in all the articles not specified in the former Book*. And in each Chapter of this Book, in which there are fifty, he gives a different example of this same *harmony*; prefixing to each a *Summary or Title* of the contents it treats of. Among which we find these that follow.

That *Children ought to be trained up by Fables*.

[a] Defence, p. 44.

[b] Reply to Def. p. 62, 64.

That a careful choice ought to be made of such Fables.

That we ought not to expose to all promiscuously the profound and awful doctrines of Truth.

That Plato allegorizes the story of Paradise, just as Moses.

That Youth should be trained to the exercise of Virtue by Hymns and Songs.

That 'tis necessary sometimes to use a Lye instead of Physick, for the good of those who want it.

The passage I have quoted is found under this *last title*; and the Chapter itself begins with the words of Plato, to this effect, as nearly as I can render them: That a Lawgiver, who is good for any thing, ought above all other Fictions contrived for the good of the Youth, to invent such especially, as tend to make them do what is right and just, not by force, but readily and willingly. To which is immediately subjoined the reflection of Eusebius himself, that there are very many instances of this kind, in the books of the Hebrews.

I appeal now to every reader, whether 'tis possible for a testimony to be more *explicit and direct* than this. 'Tis produced to prove, that according to Eusebius, Plato's notion of Political Fictions was borrowed from Moses. Eusebius expressly affirms it. How is it then that I have acted *unfairly* with him? Because I conceal, it seems, and drop the following words, which shew,



shew, that the *Fiction*, he imputes to *Scripture*, consisted onely in ascribing *human passions to the Deity*, and representing him, as *jealous, sleepy, angry*; which, however it may amuse some readers, is yet nothing at all to the purpose. The fact, for which *Eusebius* is appealed to, is, whether *Plato borrowed the notion from Scripture*, or no: *Eusebius declares that he did*; which is all that I am concerned for. If we would know the particular instances of *Fiction* that *Plato* borrowed; we must learn that from *Plato himself*, and not from *Eusebius*. I have shewn what kind it was that *Plato* recommended; and no body, I dare say, can shew that he ever recommended what *Eusebius* here mentions; or for *the good of the People* ever feigned God to be *jealous, angry, sleepy, &c.* My business then being to prove the authority of *Eusebius*, that *Plato had borrowed his notion from Moses*; it could not be to the purpose to exemplify it, by instances, which he did not borrow. And *Eusebius* might possibly give this turn to his argument, to obviate *the offence*, which a frank allowance of such a fact might give to the more *rigid and zealous*: it being well known, that no small clamour was raised against him by the *strictly orthodox* of those times, for his *opinions* in some high Points of Religion.

Let's now see what you object to the other passage of *Clemens*; who in speaking, as I say, of the *Art of governing*, allows the Greeks to

have learnt from Moses among other lessons of Policy, the proper use and application of Lying or Fiction [a]. But you charge me here with misrepresentation, in calling that the *Art of governing*, which ought to be rendered the *Art of governing in war*, or the *Art of a General*. And should I grant you this, pray what would you gain by it? Does it not come up to what I contend for; or at least, as I have put it, *to much the same thing*? For what difference is there in the thing itself, when used for the *good of the people*, whether it be used *in peace*, or *in war*? Unless that *in war*, 'tis seldom practised with effect, but *to the destruction of thousands*; *in peace* without the *least hurt or injury* to any one: and this difference, I'm afraid, will give no advantage to your side of the question.

*Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit :*

is, I know, the ordinary maxim of *military policy*; and you give us from *Virgil*, the *mentita tela* of an enemy: but you forget what you had observed on a less pertinent occasion, that these are *Heathenish maxims*; the suggestions of a *loose morality*: Will you undertake to defend them by the *strict principles of Religion*, or assert the practice of them to be honourable in the *character of Moses*? If you can do this, then the *use of Fiction* in any case for the *good of the people* may surely be defended by the same princi-

[a] Defence, p. 44.

ples. For to consider Moses's *character*: was he *not divinely inspired and assisted* in the same extraordinary manner in all the *Events of war*, as in all the *Arts of peace*? by *stretching out his rod* he could drown a mighty host; by *lifting up his hands* destroy a whole army: is it not then the same diminution of his *divine Authority*, to suppose him under a necessity of recurring to *Fiction* or *Stratagem* in the one case, as in the other? Considering, I say, the circumstances of Moses's *character*, it seems difficult to make out the difference: yet you roundly assert, and think the assertion innocent, that he might use *all the arts of deceiving in war*; but will not suffer me to impute to him the *least possible degree of it in peace*, without *weakening his Authority*.

But as this passage of my *Defence* has generally been thought the most exceptionable of any in my *Two Pieces*; so I must beg leave to recite here my very words, in order to explain my true meaning in them the more clearly; they run thus: *Is the notion then of the Divine Origin of the Law, and the Inspiration of Moses to be resolved into Fiction and Fable, or political Lying?* No, far be it from me to think or say that: but this perhaps one may venture to say; that the supposition of some degree of such *Fiction* may possibly be found necessary to the solving the difficulties of the *Mosaic Writings*, without any hurt to their authority or advantage to *In-*  
O 4
delity

delity &c. [a]. And here we see after all the cry that has been made against me, I expressly disclaim the *least thought* of saying or doing any thing, that really contradicts the *Divine Origin of the Law or Inspiration of Moses*: and in the next words, where I seem to allow *some degree of Fiction*, I have used all the terms of *reserve, doubt and diffidence*, that can possibly be crowded into any sentence: *perhaps; may venture; some degree; may possibly be found*: which can by no means imply a persuasion, but an hint onely to ground a question upon. And that still, upon a supposition, that such a question can do *no manner of hurt to the authority of Moses, or service to Infidelity*. When the reader has duly reflected on this, then let him consider, how justly I have been accused from the evidence of this passage, of calling in question *the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures*.

To return to the testimony of *Clemens*: where tho' it seems needless to say any thing more of a *translation*, which bears equally in either sense to the point in question; yet as I never translated any passage with design to make it bear more than it would strictly carry; so I think myself obliged to give some account here, why I translated the word *στρατήγημα*, by the *Art of governing in general*, and not, as you would have it, the *Art of governing in war*: and for this I had the following reasons.

[a] Defence, p. 45.

That



That tho' I well knew the word, στρατηγεῖν, to signify properly, *to lead an army, or govern it in war*, in the old *Classick Authors*, yet I knew withal, that in the time of *Josephus*, and of the *Ecclesiastical Writers* especially, who lived after him, the word had lost its *proper, original* sense, and was applicable to denote *Civil Magistracy or Government in general*. Thus *Moses* is commonly called by *Josephus* the στρατηγὸς of the *Jews*, not in the notion of a *General or Leader of an Army*, but of *supreme Governor or Magistrate*. And this, as in many other places, so in that particularly, where he appears in the meer form of a *Civil Magistrate*, and in the very act of *hearing and judging civil causes* [a]. His successor *Joshua* is in like manner always stiled the στρατηγός, in the sense of *general Governor* [b]. And what's most to the point, *Joseph*, in his *government of Ægypt*, where he had no *military command*, is called in the same sense, στρατηγός: where a *learned Critick* in a marginal note observes, that *this word had in that Age lost its relation to War, and denoted Civil Power or Government in general* [c]. In which sense the *Ecclesiastical Writers* generally use it, as [d] *Va-*

[a] Antiq. 1. 3. 4. Item, 1. 4. 4. §. 7, &c.

[b] Ib. 1. 5. 1. §. 1, 3, 29. [c] Ib. 1. 2. 6.

[d] Valef. Not. ad lib. 31. Ammiani Marcell. c. vi. it. Not. ad Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. 1. 7. c. xi. not. 6. it. ad Euseb. 1. 8. c. xi. not 4.

*Iesius* has fully shewn ; and as every body will find from the old *Lexicons* and *Glossaries* [a].

This being then the common acceptation of the word in the Age of *Clemens*, an admirer of *Iosephus* ; and στρατηγὸς carrying the notion of a *general Governor* or *Magistrate* ; 'tis certain that στρατήγημα, considered singly, may truly and properly be rendered by the *Art of Governing*, without any respect to *war*. And as the context in this place seemed somewhat perplexed and obscure ; so I was not curious to consider, whether it ought to be rendered the *Art of Government, Civil or Military*, since it was obvious to reflect, as I have observed above, that in either sense it comes to *much the same thing*.

As to the fact itself, whether *Plato did really borrow any thing from Moses or not*, I am no way concerned for the truth of it ; but shall leave it to *these Fathers* to answer for it : what they have delivered concerning it, might be with a view to recommend their Religion to the *Greeks*, agreeably to what *Clemens* himself declares, that *as the Apostle became a Hebrew to the Hebrews, so it was reasonable to become a Greek to Greeks*. And the very passage we have been examining may, for any thing I know, be one of those

[a] Du Fresne. it. Lexic. Vet. ad finem Operum S. Cyrilli. H. Steph. Thes.

unsound ones, which Photius tells us are to be found in this very work of Clemens [a].

I shall now at last explain myself more particularly on the two most important points of this Controversy ;

1. *The Allegorical Exposition of the History of the Creation and Fall of Man.*
2. *The Divine Origin and Inspiration of the Scriptures.*

As to the first of these, you charge me with asserting, that *the literal sense is in fact contradictory to reason and the notions we have of God* [b]. But here, Sir, you either mistake my meaning thro' want of attention, or thro' design misrepresent it. I had said in my Letter, that *all Commentators are forced in some measure to desert the literal meaning* [c] : and in my Defence, where I have further explained myself, that *if it be found in fact contradictory to reason and the notions we have of God, we must necessarily desert it* [d]. *The first* I shall still assert to be true ; and *the latter* all Divines whatsoever will allow to be so. But to reject the *literal sense conditionally*, and on supposition onely of *its being contrary to reason*, which is all that I have done, or designed at

[a] Photii Biblioth, p. 288.

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 48.

[c] Letter, p. 13.

[d] Defence, p. 15.

least to do, is a quite different thing, from what you charge me with; *the asserting it to be in fact contradictory to reason*. So that the very foundation you build upon, of my having *absolutely rejected the letter*, is false, since I reject it only *hypothetically or conditionally*. Besides by *deserting the Letter*, there's no necessity to understand an *absolute denial or rejection of all historical sense* in it; but a preference only of the *Allegorical* in some particular cases, as the properest basis for a *rational Defence of Religion*.

Now in this very *History of the Creation*, I find the *Commentators* greatly divided and disagreeing among themselves, in their several methods of explaining it. Some prefer the *Allegorical Sense*, others the *Literal*; most indeed allow, that *both* are consistent, and may be used together: but all take a liberty of applying each arbitrarily, without any certain rule, just as their several systems or fancies incline them [a]. So that 'tis not possible to draw from them all, any uniform and certain principle of true belief and interpretation. 'Tis this I refer to, this I complain of in the *Defence of my Letter* [b]: that those who defend Religion so *dogmatically*, do not state and define

[a] Les ecrits des Peres & de la plupart des Interpretes en sont pleins; & ces sortes d'explications sont souvent arbitraires. Calmet, Comment. Pref. Gen. p. 11.

[b] Defence, p. 13.



what it is, *that we Christians are obliged to believe* of this story : that they do not determine *the bounds of Letter and Allegory* ; do not fix some *settled rule* of applying them ; but *jump*, as I say, *arbitrarily from one to the other*, as each man's whim directs him. And in this uncertainty and latitude of interpretation, 'tis ridiculous to charge particular opinions with *Infidelity*, that offend against no established maxim or rule of exposition.

After trifling a while about the word, *Mystery*, in a manner that deserves no answer, you collect the substance of your charge into one point, *viz.* that I alledge *in favour of Allegory that the Primitive Fathers esteemed it on many occasions the onely method of vindicating Scripture* [a]. This you treat as a *bold and rash* Assertion, and exert all your Strength and Learning to prove it so ; declaring, that I *have mistaken the sense of every one of the testimonies* produced to confirm it. Here then we will once more *join issue*, and examine the truth of your allegation and mine : where the Reader, I dare say, will not be so much surprized at *my boldness* in affirming, as at yours, in so *rashly denying*, a fact, which is evident and known to all, who are conversant in *Ecclesiastical Antiquity*.

As for Origen ; in the remains still left us of

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 51.

his Works, we have proof enough of his attachment to the *allegorical Exposition*, and contempt of the *literal*. St. *Jerom*, speaking of him declares, *that he turned the story of Paradise so wholly to Allegory, as to destroy or take away all the literal truth of it : by the Trees, understanding Angels ; by the Rivers, Cæstia Virtues ; &c.* [a]. And the same *Father*, giving an account of another *Greek Expositor*, he had been reading, *on the story of Melchisedec*, says just the same of him too, *that he allegorized the whole in such a manner, as to destroy the historical truth of it* [b].

St. *Austin* tells us ; *that there were some, who interpreted the whole account of Paradise of things to be understood spiritually or allegorically, as if the things themselves had not been really visible, or corporeal, but delivered for the sake of those spiritual significations* [c]. And though he declares on this occasion for *holding fast the Letter, along with the Allegory* ; yet 'tis certain that he had once been of a different mind, and thought, that we could not explain *the History of Man's Fall piously and worthily of God but in the allegorical way* [d] ; and seems to have always held the same constant opinion, as to *the six days*

[a] Hieron. Op. T. 4. par. 2. p. 310. Edit. Benedict.

[b] Ibid. Tom. 2. par. 1. p. 574.

[c] De Civ. Dei. l. 13. c. xxi.

[d] De Genes. contr. Manich. l. 2. c. iii.

of the Creation, and to have looked upon them as wholly allegorical [a].

Thus, Sir, in direct contradiction to what you maintain, there were *several Writers in the primitive Ages, who thought the best way of vindicating Scripture in some instances to be by the help of Allegory, even to the desertion of the Letter*: and this without any imputation on their zeal or sincerity in their Religion, or the least suspicion of *Infidelity*. 'Twas the same case with the *Jewish Apologists*, particularly *Philo*, from whom I had drawn some testimonies to the very point: but you tell me peremptorily, that I have mistaken the sense of every one of them [b]. And to give us a general view in what sense *Philo* is to be understood, you observe, that he more than once cautions his readers against departing from the Letter of the Old Testament, and says, that all the Ceremonies relating to the Worship of the Temple and a thousand other Precepts would be neglected, if we were to confine ourselves onely to the allegorical Interpretation. But what is this to the purpose? Or how does it confute what I have advanced? Is there the least hint in my Letter, or the Defence of it, that *Philo* or the Primitive Writers maintained the whole sense of Scripture to be allegorical? Might not *Philo* believe the general sense to be literal,

[a] De Civ. Dei. l. 11. c. xxx.

[b] Reply to Defence, p. 51.

and

and yet hold some *particular passages* to be wholly *allegorical*? This surely is consistent; and that it was the very case, we shall presently see. For instance; *the Law*, says *Philo*, *accounts the Camel an unclean beast, because though he chews the cud, he does not divide the hoof; now, if we consider this according to the outward Letter, 'tis hard to say, what sense there is in it; but if according to the inward meaning; there is a most clear and necessary one, &c.* which he proceeds to explain. This passage I had produced before [a]; but as you have said nothing to it in your *Reply*, I must confront you with it once again, the better to confine you to the *true state of the Question*. Let me ask you then, whether *Philo*, in this instance, does not *actually vindicate Scripture by its allegorical meaning, in opposition to the literal one*? If he does; then all you have been saying about him has neither *truth nor sense* in it: if he does not; then I am content to take whatever shame you please to throw upon me; even *the share* you so candidly give me of *Mr. Woolston's shame* [b].

You say that *Philo turns almost every thing to Allegory*; and yet by your use of him, one would imagine, that he had *turned nothing to Allegory*. But to drop for the present what you or I think, let's see what other Men of Learning, not heated in this Controversy,

[a] Defence, p. 17.

[b] Reply to Def. p. 51.



have thought of him with regard to this very question. *Philo*, says *Photius*, wrote *Expositions on the Old Testament*, turning almost every where the Letter to Allegory: and from him all that Custom of allegorical Interpretation flowed into the Church [a].

*Sixtus Senensis* tells us of him, that he affirms it to be a piece of rustick simplicity to believe literally, that the World was created in six days or in any certain time. And that several Catholick Authors had followed his opinion, as Austin among the Latins, and Procopius among the Greeks [b]: That he so treats what Moses has said of Paradise, as to destroy the literal Sense of it; making the Garden, the Plants, and the other things described in it to contain nothing but Allegory. In which error he was followed, he says, by Origen, and very many Writers besides, as he shews afterwards [c]: and he declares, that St. Ambrose likewise in imitation of Philo seems to have understood the story of Paradise wholly according to Allegory, rejecting the historical Sense of it [d]. And if we would know this Author's own opinion of allegorical Interpretation; he affirms it to be by far the most useful for the establishment of our Faith, and the institution of our Manners: and says further, that should the

[a] Phot. Biblioth. p. 277.

[b] Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. l. 5. p. 338.

[c] Ibid. p. 340.

[d] Ibid. 341.

*enemies of the Law and the Prophets object to us and demand, for what reason God gave such absurd Laws; to cut off the Foreskin, kill the Lamb, the Goat, &c. we should have no way of defending ourselves but by the allegorical Sense; without which all those things must needs appear insipid, rustick, and wholly unworthy the Divine Majesty [a]. And now, have I advanced any thing like this in favour of Allegory? Yet the Author who has advanced it, was a Man highly esteemed and celebrated in his own time, not onely for his Learning, which was great, but for his Piety and sincere Zeal for Religion, which were allowed to be as great.*

To this Writer, who was a *Papist*, I shall just add a *Protestant*, *Rivet*; who in these Points was as *highly orthodox*, and as great an *Advocate of the Letter* as yourself. Who declares, that *St. Austin* held *the six days of the Creation* to have an *allegorical Meaning* onely, and that *Philo, Procopius, Cajetanus* are of the same opinion [b]. Of the last of whom he intimates, that he held *the literal story of Eve formed from the rib of Adam* to be a *silly one* [c].

By this time the Reader will be able to judge how *rash* or *bold*, as you say, my Assertion is, *that*

[a] Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. l. 3. p. 141.

[b] Rivet. Exercitat. in Genes. c. 1. p. 9. Op. T. 1.

[c] Ibid. Oper. T. 2. p. 936.

*the Primitive Fathers and Jewish Apologists esteemed the allegorical Exposition to be on some occasions the best Method of vindicating Scripture. But because you push me so vigorously on this question, I must beg leave to dwell a little longer on it.*

*Josephus reflecting on the calumnies charged on the Jews, and the ridicule they underwent on the account of the Tabernacle and priestly Vestments [a], says, that whoever seriously considers the fabrick and construction of them, will find the Lawgiver to have been a Divine Man, and that they are falsely reproached on this score. For if we duly examine the Particulars with judgment and without envy, we shall discover them all to have been formed in imitation, or as a typical representation of the Universe and its several Parts: and he proceeds to explain this analogy or similitude through all its Particulars. The Tabernacle thirty cubits long, divided into three Parts, denotes, he says, the earth, the sea, the heavens: the twelve loaves, the twelve months: the seven branches of the candlestick, the seven planets, &c. Now what is all this but recurring to Allegory, in order to vindicate Scripture from the cavils and ridicule of Scepticks?*

I had produced likewise in my Defence a testimony from Barnabas; where this Aposto-

[a] Antiq. l. 3. c. 7.

*lical Writer declares, that Moses in prohibiting Swine's flesh, meant onely to prohibit the keeping company with such, as in their manners are like to Swine [a]. And what do you say to this passage in your Reply? Why, you allow it to be a strong one to the purpose; yet have the assurance to say, that I have mistaken every Passage produced to that purpose [b].*

I have alledged also *two other Quotations*, on the authority of *Cotelerius*, from *Tertullian* and *Origen*. Where the first says, *that nothing is so contemptible as the Mosaic Laws about the distinction and prohibition of animal food. And the latter more freely; that if we take them literally they are unworthy of God, and less rational than the Laws of Men; nay, that some of them are contrary to reason, and impossible to be observed [c].* And here you take notice, *that I have stopped short, not like a lover of truth, without acquainting the reader with an observation, that follows, of Cotelerius himself: that on the contrary very many passages might be collected out of the same Authors, which speak in praise of the same Laws [d].* But has *Cotelerius* produced any of those passages? If he had, it would have been pertinent to consider, how far they had balanced, or superseded the other. But since he has not done this, and what he has said is not, as you have given it, but what

[a] Defence, p. 17.

[b] Reply to Def. p. 51. 55.

[c] Def. p. 17, 18.

[d] Reply to Def. p. 55.



should be rendered, that *many passages might be collected from the same Fathers, expressed more commodiously in praise of the same Laws*: so, till we see the Passages themselves, and understand the force of what you had left out, *more commodiously*; the different passages may, for any thing we know to the contrary, be very well reconciled.

But you affirm, that *Cotelerius himself has wholly mistaken the sense of Tertullian*; and for the passage of *Origen, it effectually carries its own disproof with it*. [a]. We shall presently see what judgment you shew in this affirmation. *It is plain, you say, that Tertullian is speaking ironically of what Marcion and the Hereticks, and not what himself thought of those Laws.* But it will be as plain I doubt, that though he is speaking of *the Railleries of the Hereticks*, yet he allows the ground of that Raillery to be true, and owns the fact, that the *Laws are really foolish and contemptible* in themselves, according to the dictates of *human Wisdom*, and that God made use of them for the very reason *of their being contemptible*, in order to baffle the knowledge and learning of the wise.

In the other passage, you bring from *him*, he is onely suggesting some reasons which the *Divine Providence* might have for the Institution of such Laws: to give a *lesson of abstinence*,

[a] Reply to Defence, p. 56, 57.

and a check to that gluttony, which, (as he adds in words that we have wholly omitted) *when it was eating the food of Angels, yet longed for the Melons and Cucumbers of Ægypt.* An omission, I don't take notice of, for the sake of clamouring, as you do, about *falsifying and misrepresenting*; but to shew how dextrously you can skip over a sore place; and evade the touching on any thing, that intimates *an inclination in the Jews, to the things of Ægypt.* And were I to insist on the passage for any purpose of this Controversy, you *would demonstrate*, I dare say, *against Tertullian*, just as you did *against St. Stephen*, that *there was not so much as a Cucumber in Ægypt in Moses's time.*

As to the testimony of Origen, *it carries*, you say, *its own confutation with it.* But, pray Sir, recollect here, what you are so apt on all occasions to forget, the *real state of the question*; which does not turn on the truth or falshood of what Origen has said, but on the fact, *whether he has said it or no.* If he has said it, then my affirmation is true; *that the Primitive Writers esteemed the allegorical way on some occasions to be the onely method of vindicating Scripture*; and the negative you maintain is false. But I am at a loss to understand how this *notion of Origen confutes itself.* Why, *he asserts*, you say, *that to be impossible, which in fact he knew to have been always observed.* But this shews onely the negligence of your own attention: for how  
could

could he be so gross, as to charge an *impossibility*, on what he *really knew to be true*? Every one, I dare say, will see at once, that he meant something very different from what you imagine, viz. *that some of those Laws, which the Jews constantly observed, were yet from the nature of things impossible to be observed, in that full rigour and strictness, which the literal command imports, and of which no exception or abatement was signified.* For instance; the Law, that prohibits *the eating of blood*, is *absolute*; and the thing itself forbidden in any manner or degree; and *whoever eats it in any manner was to be cut off* [a]. Now is it possible to eat any *flesh meat*, without eating blood in some manner or some degree? This might perhaps be one of the *Laws*, that Origen had regard to: where it may be answered, that God requires onely an *obedience adequate to our power*; and when we have discharged that, we have *satisfied the Law* however *absolute*, or *rigorous*: yet what you answer is nothing to the purpose, and the effect onely of your own mistake.

But since you seem to have so slight an opinion of Origen, as to think him absurd enough even to *confute himself*; I will just give you a short character of him, from a greater man than yourself; one of the greatest that ever lived, *Erasmus*; who declares, *that in the Ex-*

[a] Levit. iii. 17. vii. 26, 27.

*position of the Scriptures, allowing for some particular points of Faith, he would prefer one Origen to ten Orthodox [a].*

And now, to give my own opinion of this question; I take the use of *Allegory in the History of the Creation and Fall of Man*, to be in some degree necessary, to establish the truth of the *Christian Religion*; since all Expositors, who have considered with most attention the *general Scheme of Christianity*, however differing in other Points, have commonly agreed in this. Calmet declares, that *it is extremely difficult to expound the first Chapters of Genesis literally; especially as to what regards the Fall of Man, and the Story of the Serpent: and that the Jews do not suffer their young Men under the age of twenty-five or thirty Years to read them.* And Dr. W. himself, in vindicating one passage of this very History, about *God's walking in the Garden*, says, that *a Man must be next to an Idiot, who understands it literally.* As to the Letter, one thing at least is certain, and we may assuredly draw *this historical truth from it*; that *God in the beginning created the World and all Things in it; and placed Man in a state of bliss and happiness from which he fell by his own sin and folly.* But whether this was brought about *exactly and*

[a] At ego in Scripturarum enarratione, unum Originem decem Orthodoxis anteposuerim, exceptis aliquot dogmatibus fidei, in Gal. ii. 11. Crit Sacr.

*literally,*



*literally*, according to every circumstance of the *Mosaic account*; with all the *Form and Machinery*, of *six days labour*; a *Paradise*, &c. as it is not, in my judgment, material to inquire, so I shall not take upon me to determine. All that I need say further on it is; first, that I never meant *to reject the Letter of Scripture absolutely* in any case, but where 'tis found *inconsistent with Reason and the Attributes of God*: and there *all Divines* whatsoever must agree with me *in rejecting it*. Secondly, that had I *absolutely rejected it* in some cases; I had yet done no more than what *several Apologists of Christianity* in all Ages had done before me, whose *piety and zeal for Religion* were never called in question on that account.

I shall now in the last place give a distinct account of my Sentiments, concerning the *Divine Origin and Inspiration of the Scriptures*. And as in my *Letter to Dr. W.* I had declared myself a *sincere Christian*, and repeated the same declaration in my *Defence* of it; so I had reason to expect, that however free and offensive any of my expressions might appear to some, whom a narrow circle of life and studies had rendered stiff in particular habits and opinions, yet in virtue of such a declaration *my belief of an Article so fundamental*, would have been presumed and taken for granted, and that I should have been safe at least from the *groundless and spiteful charge of Infidelity*; since in the character of  
a Chri-

*a Christian I take to be necessarily included a general belief of the Divine Origin and Inspiration of the Books of the Old and New Testament : a Doctrine too clearly delivered in the Scriptures, to be doubted of and called in question by any one, who lays claim to that title. And as to the particular character and case of Moses ; I take him to have been a great Prophet and Lawgiver, who in an extraordinary and miraculous manner was favoured, assisted, and inspired by God in the institution of his Laws and Religion, and consequently had a Divine Authority, which is frequently appealed to and confirmed in the New Testament.*

But as 'tis necessary to believe *of the Scriptures in general*, that they are *divinely inspired* ; so 'tis as necessary, from the evidence of plain facts and declarations in *those very Scriptures*, to allow some exception to *the general rule* ; nor to insist, as some do, that *every word, sentence, narration, history ; or indeed every Book*, we call *canonical*, was *dictated by God*.

This is the onely notion expressly affirmed by me, that can be thought to *weaken* in any manner *the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion* : and 'tis indeed the onely one I ever intended to affirm on the subject : and if any thing be said or pushed further by me in either of my Pieces, than what the consequences of this position will fairly justify, I retract and disclaim it. Here

Here then I fix my foot ; and take upon me to assert, that we are under no obligation of *Reason or Religion* to believe, that *the Scriptures are of absolute and universal Inspiration* ; or that every passage in them was dictated by a *Divine Spirit* : and this I do from no other motive or view in the world, but a firm persuasion of the truth of it ; and a persuasion likewise, that the allowance and declaration of that truth is not onely useful, but necessary to a *rational Defence of Religion*.

Now as this, I say, is the onely opinion, that I have directly asserted in this Controversy, without the least notice taken of it by you in *either of your Replies* ; so did I not see you disposed rather to *cavil at trifles* than to *join issue* on any question of importance, I might reasonably take it for a proof, that you look upon it as *orthodox and inoffensive*. However, since passion and prejudice have so great a power in the world ; and the seeds of rage may be already at work in the breasts of some readers on the bare mention of such a proposition ; I cannot but think it prudent, before I enter on any explication of it, to place in front before me *an authority or two of great name*, in order to break the force of the storm, which, by what I have already experienced, I have too much reason to be apprehensive of.

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The first authority I shall produce is of Archbishop Tillotson ; whose words, in a *Sermon* on this very Subject, are as follow.

*I shall onely say this in general ; that considering the end of this Inspiration, which was to inform the world certainly of the mind and will of God, it is necessary for every Man to believe, that the inspired Penmen of Scripture were so far assisted as was necessary to this end : and he that thinks upon good grounds, that this end cannot be secured, unless every word and syllable were immediately dictated, he had reason to believe it was so ; but if any Man upon good grounds thinks the end of writing the Scripture may be sufficiently secured without that, he hath no reason to conclude, that God, who is not wanting in what is necessary, is guilty of doing what is superfluous. And if any Man is of opinion, that Moses might write the History of those actions, which he himself did or was present at, without an immediate Revelation of them ; or that Solomon, by his natural and acquired Wisdom might speak those wise sayings which are in his Proverbs ; or the Evangelists might write what they heard and saw, or what they had good assurances from others ; as St. Luke tells he did : or that St. Paul might write for his Cloak and Parchments at Troas, and salute by name his friends and brethren ; or that he might advise Timothy to drink a little wine, &c. without the immediate dictate of the Spirit of God, he seems*



seems to have reason on his side. For that Men may without an immediate Revelation write those things, which they think without a Revelation seems very plain. And that they did so, there is this probable argument for it, because we find the Evangelists in relating the discourses of Christ, are very far from agreeing in the particular expressions and words, though they do agree in the substance of the Discourses : but if the words had been dictated by the Spirit of God, they must have agreed in them. For when St. Luke differs from St. Matthew, in relating what our Saviour said, it is impossible, that they should both relate it right, as to the very words and forms of expression ; but they both relate the substance of what he said, &c. [a].

Now if we reflect on the difference of stile in a Sermon, from that of a debate in a Controversy of Learning ; and consider the reserve proper to the one, and the freedom necessary to the other ; we shall find that I have affirmed nothing more in effect, than what this great Man had delivered from the Pulpit. He tells us, we see, that those who do not believe Moses to have been universally inspired in writing his Books, seem to have Reason on their side ; and suggests some probable arguments to prove, that the Evangelists in composing theirs had no Revelation at all.

[a] Tillotson's Works, Vol. III. p. 449.

To the Authority of *the Archbishop*, I shall add that of *Grotius*; whose words are: *I have truly said, that all the Books in the Hebrews in this matter stand. But there was no occasion for histories to be dictated by the Holy Spirit: 'twas enough for the Writer to have a good memory as to the things related, or diligence in copying the old Records. Besides, the word, Holy Ghost, is ambiguous; for it either signifies, as I have taken it, a Divine Inspiration, such as the ordinary Prophets had, as also David and Daniel sometimes; or it signifies a pious motion or impulse to deliver some salutary precepts of life, or things political and civil; in which sense Maimonides takes it, where he treats of Writings either historical or moral. If Luke had written his Books by the dictates of Divine Inspiration, he would have chosen rather to establish his Authority on that, than on the faith of the witnesses he followed. So in writing the Acts, which he had seen done by Paul, he had no need of any Inspiration. Why then do we receive Luke's Books, as Canonical? because the Primitive Church judged them to be piously and faithfully written, and concerning things of the greatest moment to Salvation [a].*

Under the shelter of these great names, of the most rational Preacher, and the most rational

[a] Grot. Votum pro pace. Artic. de Canonicis Scripturis, Op. T. 4. p. 672.

*Expositor of Scripture*, that any *Christian Age* has produced, I may venture to open my own opinion the more freely ; so far at least, as to shew the grounds on which 'tis built, which is all I think necessary at present, reserving the fuller discussion of it to an opportunity of more leisure.

Now in searching *the Scriptures*, to discover the real state of this question, I found it to no purpose to lay much stress on those texts, that are usually alledged on the occasion ; since by admitting a latitude and variety of interpretation they furnish nothing decisive, but leave room still for fresh and endless squabbles : my business was to consider chiefly the *matters of fact* delivred there ; the surest foundation to build any persuasion upon ; and to attend to the plain sense and language of *those facts*, when stript of the glosses and forced interpretations which *Commentators* would fasten on them in favour of *their systems* and *prejudices*.

For instance, as soon as *the Children of Israel* had made their retreat from *Ægypt*, and got any time to repose themselves in the wilderness ; we find *Moses* employing himself *from morning to night in judging the people*, by *hearing and deciding all causes of dispute among them* : this *Jethro his Father-in-law* observing, and reflecting on the fatigue and trouble it occasioned both to *Moses and the people*, took the liberty to re-  
pre-

present to him *the inconveniencies of this method*, and to convince him, that it was *quite wrong*, and what must of course tire out both himself and the multitude. He advised him therefore for his own ease, as well as the publick good, to chuse out a number of able and honest men, to be set over the people as *their Judges or Rulers* in all ordinary cases ; in a proper subordination to each other according to their several abilities ; *Rulers over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, over tens* ; reserving to himself the cognizance onely of *greater causes* : That he might not be drawn off from the more important part of his duty, *his attendance upon God, and the care of his Religion*. Upon which, *Moses*, as we read, *hearkened to the voice of his Father-in-law, and did all that he had said [a]*. And from what is related afterwards of the same fact, we learn, that *Moses* had the *solemn consent and approbation of the people*, before he put it in execution [b]. *Josephus*, in his account of this story, takes occasion very justly to praise *the modesty and ingenuity of Moses*, in not assuming to himself the credit of an invention so useful, but frankly ascribing all the glory of it to its true Author [c].

Now the inference I draw from this, is, that it appears very clearly from this *plain fact*, that

[a] Exod. xviii. 24.

[b] Deut. i. 13.

[c] Antiq. l. 3. c. 4.



*Moses* in the case of an Institution of great importance to the whole body of his people, and to the good order and government of the Community, had not the assistance of any divine Inspiration, but derived the whole thought and design of it, from the advice and counsel of a wise and prudent man, of whom all that we know is, that he was *Priest of Midian*. If then there was no Inspiration in the thing itself, there could be no occasion for any in the narration of it; and consequently *Moses* was not constantly and uniformly inspired by God, either in what he instituted, or what he has related.

As to what Bishop Tillotson has suggested in the other case of the Evangelists; and Grotius more particularly in that of St. Luke; 'tis certain, that there is in the several Gospels such a disagreement and variation in the accounts of the same facts, as cannot by any wit of man be cleared from the charge of Inconsistency. As in the Genealogy of Christ [a]; in the account of the woman who poured a box of ointment [b]; of two men possessed with Devils [c]; of two blind by the way side [d]; of the Thieves on the Cross [e]; of the time and hour of our Saviour's cruci-

[a] Matth. i. 1. Luke iii. 24.

[b] Matth. xxvi. 6. Mar. xiv. 3. Luke vii. 38. John xii. 1.

[c] Matth. viii. 28. Luke viii. 26.

[d] Matth. xx. 30. Mar. x. 46. Luke xviii. 35.

[e] Matth. xxvii. 44. Mar. xv. 32. Luke xxiii. 39.

*fixion [a]; of the circumstances of what passed at his Sepulchre [b], &c.*

*The Commentators, I know, have with fruitless pains strained hard to reconcile these differences; and work them all up into one uniform and consistent narration: but it had been, in my opinion, of more service to Religion, had they been content rather to acknowledge fairly, what cannot be denied honestly, than labour as they do to support notions in opposition to things; systems in contradiction to facts. For all these variations, as they affect onely the circumstances, and not the reality of the facts themselves; so they are so far from hurting the cause of Christianity, or casting any blemish on the veracity of the Evangelists, that they the more effectually confirm it. This very thing, says Theophylact, gives the stronger proof of their integrity, that they have not agreed in all points: for otherwise they might be suspected to have written by compact [c].*

*Mark is observed by all Expositors to tread so closely on the steps of Matthew, and to agree so minutely with him in the circumstances and even words of many of his narrations; that*

[a] Mar. xv. 25. John xix. 14.

[b] Matth. xxviii. 2. Luke xxiv. 4. John xx. 11.

[c] Δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἀληθέουσιν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πάντα ὁμοφώνησαν, &c. Theophyl, Proœm. in Matt.

some

some believe him to have had *the use of Matthew's Gospel* towards the forming his own : and what does *Religion* gain by the bargain ? What fruit does it reap from this *great harmony* ? Why, to find Mark's *authority diminishing* in proportion to *his exact agreement with Matthew*, and the character of an *Evangelist* dwindling into that of a *Transcriber* ; which the Criticks generally impute to him [a]. The case would be still worse, were the *same minute agreement* observed in the *other Gospels* ; and the strong foundation of a *Quadruple Testimony* would by that means be reduced to the questionable credit of a *single Evidence* ; so that as Dr. Hammond has judiciously remarked ; *these variations in the Evangelists were necessary to make their testimonies several, and so to give them the greater authority by the number of them* [b].

But tho' these little *inconsistencies in the Gospels* cannot be of any disservice, but of real use to Religion ; yet they effectually confute the com-

[a] Marcus pedissequus & brevior ejus videtur, *August. de Conf. Evan. l. 1. p. 3.*

Marci Evangelium ejus, quod a Matthæo proditum est, videri potest Epitome. *Erasm. in Luc. i. 1.*

Marcus autem Græcè compendium magis historiæ, quam historiam scripserat. *Grot. Ibid.*

Usum esse Marcum Matthæi Evangelio, apertum facit collatio, *Grot. in Mar. i.*

[b] Hammond's Præf. to Annotat. on *Tit. Gospel*, p.

mon *notion* and *hypothesis*, that the *Evangelists* in composing them were under the *perpetual influence of a Divine, unerring Spirit*. For as Bishop Tillotson reasons above, if they had been *absolutely inspired*, they must necessarily have agreed as *absolutely* in their several Stories : but since they are very far from agreeing in their accounts of what our Saviour said, 'tis impossible that they should all be inspired, as 'tis impossible that they should all be in the right. This conclusion is clear and evident to every Man's sense and reason ; as certain, as the facts, 'tis grounded on, are certain : allow but the facts, and you of course establish this consequence. And in truth, whatever any *Divines* think fit to impute to the *Evangelists*, the *Evangelists themselves* are so far from pretending to this privilege, of *universal Inspiration* or *absolute Infallibility*, that they in effect disclaim it ; and put their whole credit on a foundation meerly human, and common to all other Writers ; viz. *their capacity or ability to know the truth of what they deliver, and their integrity in delivering it to the best of their knowledge* [a].

St. Paul, we know, declares himself on several occasions *destitute of divine Inspiration*. In the *Epistle to the Galatians*, I speak, says he, *after the manner of men* [b]. Where Jerom observes, *that he makes good what he says, and by*

[a] Luke i. 1, 2. Jo. xix. 35. it. xxi. 24. it. 1 Ep. Jo. i. 1, 2, 3.

[b] Gal. iii. 15.



his low and vulgar reasoning, and the improper application of certain words, might have given offence to prudent men, had not he prefaced, as he does, by disavowing all pretence to Divine Inspiration [b].

Many facts and passages might be produced from the Old and New Testament, to shew, that the Sacred Writers could not be universally inspired : but I have said enough to declare my own opinion, as well as to give a short view of the grounds on which 'tis built, which I shall always be ready to explain more at large, if ever I am challenged to it by any Writer worth my notice.

I have now gone through all, that I found necessary to remark on your second Reply. What I have omitted to take notice of, was not for want of a proper answer, but that I thought it either too trifling to deserve any ; or that it had been sufficiently answered before. And after all this squabbling, the state of the questions affirmed by me in the Dispute stands thus :

[a] Unde manifestum est, id fecisse Apostolum quod promisit : nec reconditis ad Galatas usum esse sensibus, sed quotidianis & vilibus, & quæ possent, nisi præmisset, secundum hominem dico, prudentibus displicere, Hier. Comm. in Gal. 3. Op. T. 4.

1. That *the Jews borrowed some of their Ceremonies and Customs from Ægypt.*
2. That *the Ægyptians were in possession of Arts and Learning in Moses's time.*
3. That *the Primitive Writers, in order to vindicate Scripture, thought it necessary in some cases to recur to Allegory.*
4. That *the Scriptures are not of absolute and universal Inspiration.*

These are the *chief* if not the *only facts*, that I have in any manner declared for in *my Two Pieces* : and after all that has been said, I do not find the least reason to change my opinion in any of them : they all stand in the end of the Controversy, as firm as they did in the beginning ; as every reader will observe : and what greater proof can be given of the impertinence of *Two Replies*, than that they have left *the principal Facts*, in dispute, in the same state as they found them ? If therefore, Sir, you ever attempt a *third*, it will be expected, that you expressly and directly attack *these very Facts*, or else your attempt will be nothing at all to the purpose.

I must observe likewise, that, after all this *clamour and senseless charge of Infidelity*, I have shewn my Sentiments to be entirely agreeable, to what the *zealous and learned Advocates of Christianity* have clearly asserted in all ages, as necessary

cessary to a rational defence of it. If Religion indeed consists in what our modern Apologists seem to place it, the deprectiating moral Duties, and the depressing natural Reason; if the duty of it be, what their practice seems to intimate, to hate and persecute for a different way of thinking in points, where the best and wisest have never agreed; then I declare my self an Infidel, and to have no share of that Religion. But if to live strictly and think freely; to practise what is moral, and to believe what is rational, be consistent with the sincere profession of Christianity; then I shall always acquit myself like one of its truest Professors.





REMARKS  
ON SOME  
OBSERVATIONS,  
Addressed to the AUTHOR  
OF THE  
LETTER  
TO  
Dr. *WATERLAND.*

*By the Author of the Letter.*

REMARKS  
ON  
OBSERVATIONS  
MADE  
ON THE  
LIFE OF  
DR. WATKINS  
BY THE EDITOR OF THE LITERARY

# R E M A R K S

O N S O M E

## O B S E R V A T I O N S, &c.

**T**HE *Letter to Dr. W.* had been published near three years, and the Controversy, that followed it, quite over and almost forgotten, when these *Observations upon it* appeared in print: and as there seem'd to be very little prudence in reviving a debate that had been managed with so much heat; so it was reasonable, after so long an interval, to expect at least a calm and disinterested enquiry into the state of it, and the moments of truth produc'd on either side.

But instead of this, I was surprized to find no argument of Learning, no point of Religion treated in them; nothing by which the publick could either be entertain'd or edified; nothing but a virulent, malicious invective; to prove the purpose of my writings, and even *my heart to be intirely infidel.* [p. 10.]

As to the merit of the performance, 'tis much below my notice; nor should I have taken the trouble of animadverting upon it,  
but

but for the occasion of opening my mind more clearly in some points wherein I find my self misrepresented ; as well as to expose more distinctly to publick view, that genuine Spirit of Modern Orthodoxy and its Advocates, which I have declared against so freely, as pernicious to publick peace and liberty : for had this Author written on purpose to confirm the character I have given of it, he could not have done it more effectually, than by producing this original to confront with my picture.

He sets out by declaring, that the profession I make of an *impartial love for truth*, encouraged him to make this address to me, in hopes of drawing from me an ingenuous confession of my errors ; and he opens his second paragraph by observing, that *I can retract an error of inadvertence with a tolerable good grace* : this had some appearance of candour ; and flattered still the hopes I had entertain'd of a temperate review of the controversy ; but he scarce proceeds a line farther, before his *Orthodox Spirit* begins to work ; and the encouraging hopes conceived of me in the first paragraph, become improbable in the second, quite desperate in the third, where I am declared *the last man, who will own the force of any conviction ; who would sooner give up every article of faith, than part with one doit of admiration.* [2] And as the Spiritual Thermometer rises, with the increasing heat of his zeal, so my character gradually  
sinks,



sinks, from *rude to prophane*; [9] from *profane to infidel*; [10] nay *much worse than infidel*; [39, 40] so profligate, that the *meekest man alive can't help being provok'd at me*; [9] *that charity itself can make no excuse for me*; [11] and so abandon'd at last, that 'tis not possible for me to believe a God. [23, 39.]

He allows, that I have argued *against the Infidel plan in a manner strictly conclusive*; [5] that I declare myself a Christian; am angry for being *barely suspected* of the contrary; [4] that I *disavow all notions derogatory to the true honour of Moses*: [21] and where my words and actions so well agree, there was some room surely for a charitable thought of me; some ground to think that I could not be in the same sentiments with the man I was confuting; yet he makes no scruple to affirm, that *Charity itself cannot excuse me*; that *'tis no breach of it to believe me an infidel*. 'Tis plain that his charity must be of a quite different kind from that which St. Paul recommends, that which *suffereth long, and is kind; that thinketh no evil; that believeth all things; hopeth all things*. [1 Cor. xiii.]

But how is it after all that he proves me to be an Infidel? because I differ from those, who assume to themselves the title of *Orthodox*, in my notions of *Inspiration and the necessity of it*; in which the writers of all ages have differed  
from

*Remarks on some Observations, addressed to the*  
 from each other, without any such imputation ;  
 and the Divines are so divided at this day, that  
 many will think me the founder Christian, for  
 the very same cause that he excludes me from  
 the number of them. Were it worth while to  
 retort the charge on himself, I could do it with  
 much more reason, not by any cavils, or di-  
 stinctions, which few people understand ; but  
 from plain and evident principles in which all  
 Christians agree ; or to use his own words, from  
*every dash of his pen ; his envenom'd pages ; [2,*  
*40]* inveterate spite, malice, and the want of  
 every Christian grace, supplied onely by a *bi-*  
*gotted Jewish zeal*, and the pretext of an *Ortho-*  
*dox Faith*.

The cause of all this rage against me is my  
 treating Dr. *W.* it seems, in so *rude and con-*  
*temptuous* a manner ; [p. 4] and with *such ungen-*  
*teel language as eyes were never surfeited with.* [7]  
 Yet this rudeness and strange language of mine  
 amount to nothing more than *to dull, dogmatic,*  
*pedantic, bigotted* [2] names, not applied to Dr.  
*W.* but in general onely, to certain Divines,  
 who by their method of vindicating Religion,  
 seem to have a just title to them. So weak and  
 blunt is my poor spleen, for want of an *Ortho-*  
*dox edge* ; for want of being temper'd in that  
*holy fire !* but I must needs be an unequal  
 match for writers, trained and disciplin'd in all  
 the arts of scolding : as in a fam'd *Archdeacon's*  
*late charge to his Clergy* : where instead of in-  
 structing

structing them in Christian principles ; how to overcome evil with good ; to recommend Religion by their practice ; and conquer the prejudices of its enemies by the innocence of their lives ; to excell in virtue and learning ; &c. instead of this, I say, the whole purpose of his harangue is to exhort them to *call names stoutly, and to scold manfully* : wherever they find a *Deist* to call him roundly an *Atheist* ; and a man who *believes nothing, more credulous, than if he believed every thing*. [Dr. W.'s second Charge, p. 7, 21.]

But whatever harm my malice design'd to Dr. W. it has quite defeated itself, by giving the alarm to such *able pens and learned hands to come in to his assistance* ; [p. 6] and to this *Great Orator* of ours to celebrate his praises with so much eloquence. An *excellent person ; unwearied in his researches of useful science ; a successful defender of one important Article ; and a seasonable Vindicator of the Scriptures in general*. [4] *Of learning, industry, exactness of judgment remarkably great and extensive*, [6] *one of the greatest scholars and Divines of the age*, [7] &c. but the peculiar merit of the Doctor, for which all the world, he tells us, *has reason to thank him*, is his wonderful art of inventing *so many different solutions to the same difficulties ; and diversifying his arguments, so that some or other may hit and affect men of all tempers and dispositions*. [6] As if the Advocates of Religion were to consider  
onely

*Remarks on some Observations, addressed to the*  
 onely what is palatable ; not what is true ; and  
 to apply to the affections, not to the reason of  
 men : for let his *solutions be never so many* ; his  
 arguments never so *diversified* ; 'tis possible,  
 that they all may be false ; and almost certain,  
 that no more than one of them can be true :  
 but no matter for that, if they *hit men's tempers*  
 and *suit their apprehensions*, 'tis just the same,  
 we see, to this pious Observer.

But though Dr. *W.* with all his skill can furnish nothing to *please my palate* : yet *he has the happiness*, it seems, *to see all his Explications of Scripture confirmed by able pens and learned hands* : [6] and for this we are referred to the Author of *Revelation examin'd with candour*. A single Author indeed, but of weight enough to supply the place of many. For whatever he may say of Dr. *W.* 'tis this Author, I know, who passes with our Observer and all others of his principles, for the very *Hero of modern Orthodoxy* ; the *scourge of Infidels* ; allowed to have a far better fancy for *ingenious solutions* than all the other *vindicators* put together.

I am angry, he says, with Dr. *W.* because he *excels in his profession*, *writes with superior learning*, and what is more unpardonable, *believes what he writes*. [8] As to his *superior learning*, I have no intention to dispute it with him ; especially if 'tis to be measured by a *superiority of his Faith*. My *Faith* is of an humble kind ;  
 claims



claims no other merit, than of being a slave to my *reason* ; to whose dictates it pays an absolute submission : whatever my reason declares to be true, I cannot help believing ; what it declares to be otherwise, 'tis not in my power to believe, though all the rewards in the world were offer'd me.

If Dr. *W.*'s Faith be of the same kind with mine ; a principle grounded on the perception of truth ; it might be reasonable to allow from a *superiority of his Faith, a superiority of Knowledge* ; and whenever I fall short of him, I could onely say, what was said to one, who was affirming a strange story ; *you, who know the fact to be true, have more reason to believe it, than I, who do not* : in the mean while, all that I can say, is, that if it be not in our power to believe what we please, and if all rational faith must be the effect of rational conviction, then to believe or not to believe, as 'tis a thing indifferent and no way criminal, so ought to make no difference of character among reasonable men : whoever takes pains to inform himself, and believes on the best information, whatever be the sum of his faith, is certainly the soundest believer ; and generally speaking, it seems to be in minds, as 'tis in bodies, a sure proof of softness, where every thing that strikes them, is apt to make an impression.

Were I to guess at the character of our *Observer*, by the character of his writing; I should take him for some young, academical Adventurer; who had been drawing out the flowers of his rhetorick, and emptying his Common-place-book against me: *Procrustes*; *Salmonæus*; *flammas Jovis, sonitus olympi*; *nec lex justior ulla*, &c. [p. 3, 21, 40]; the trite examples of every boy's declamation, are the onely instances he has given of his great erudition.

His solœcisms and blunders in language, and in sense, when he labours most to raise his style, confirm the same conjecture. He talks [39] of eyes *surfeiting with language*; [7] of dirt *recoiling without reaching the mark*, [8] of fire a *reservoir to lodge infection in*, [40] &c. *reservoirs of water* we often hear of; but this of fire is an invention of his own; and the rest of the paragraph is a piece of nonsense so sublime, that without attempting any explication of it, I shall lay it before the reader just as I find it. *The waters, earth and heavens have been sufficiently polluted already; and this element onely remains to purify the rest, and disperse the pestilential vapours, which your envenomed pages have scattered in the world.* [40]

These absurdities in style and sense naturally lead me to think of some forward youthful writer;

writer; but when I consider his high opinion and great conceit of his own understanding; [10, 22, 34] his progress in *Orthodoxy*; his flaming zeal and holy fury that animate every page; things unknown and unnatural to a boy; I am forced to turn my thoughts to one of more years and experience: and should be much concern'd for the sake of the University which I love; if any member of it, who supports any character, or enjoys any honours there, should be found capable of so wretched and contemptible, as well as so malicious and wicked a performance. But 'tis time to leave what is personal, and examine the little of reasoning and argument he pretends to; which consists of two points.

1. That I am an Infidel; labouring to weaken the authority of Scripture, and by consequence the foundation of Christianity.
2. That my book therefore ought to be burnt and myself banish'd, agreeably to my own reasoning against the Author of *Christianity as old, &c.*

For the proof of my infidelity he appeals to a passage of the Letter to Dr. *W.* wherein 'tis said, that the *example of Josephus, a learned and zealous Jew, might teach us to entertain more moderate and qualified sentiments of the divine origin of the Law, and the divine Inspiration of*

*Remarks on some Observations, addressed to the Moses.* Upon which he begs leave to ask this plain question, sufficient, he thinks, to confound me. *What can you mean by more moderate and qualified sentiments, but that the Law had no divine origin, its Founder no divine inspiration ; since there can be no medium between divine and not divine ?* [p. 15]

I have already explain'd my meaning very fully and clearly on this head [a]; but since he either cannot or will not comprehend me, I am content to declare it once more : That whereas the modern Advocates of Christianity insist, that every word of the *Mosaic writings must be received as divinely inspired ; every act of Moses as miraculously directed from heaven ;* my opinion is, that with the notion of general Inspiration, which I readily allow, we are obliged by fact and the history itself, to admit a distinction and exception in some particular passages of the Law ; some particular acts of its Founder.

But the greatest scandal I have given, is by imputing, as he urges, some *kind of fiction to Moses*. [22] I have indeed proposed it as a problem, but with all the diffidence and caution imaginable [b], *Whether some degree of*

[a] See Remarks on a Reply to the Defence of the Letter, p. 68, &c.

[b] See Defence of a Letter to Dr. W. p. 45. It. Remarks on a Reply, p. 50, 51.



*fiction may not possibly be allowed in certain cases, to solve the difficulties of the Mosaic writings, without any hurt to their authority. This our Observator treats as downright Blasphemy and Atheism itself; [23] declares all fiction inconsistent with any degree of Inspiration, [21] unworthy of a man divinely inspired: [31] and reproaches me for defending political lying, for the good of the people; and being the first Christian writer that ever maintain'd so strange doctrine. [20]*

I do not take notice of this to defend Political Lying, or to confirm my own reasoning, but to expose the folly and rashness of his. What I mentioned on that subject, I drew from the *best Moralists of the Heathen world*; and shewed withal, by the testimony of some of the *Primitive Fathers*, that the notion was suppos'd to be borrowed from *Moses* himself: and it were as easy to shew, what he so rashly denies, that almost all the Christian Writers, from the earliest Ages, and very best Authors of Morality in these later times, *Grotius, Puffendorf, &c.* hold it to be as innocent in some cases, to *deceive the people for their good*, as for *Parents to deceive their Children, Physicians their Patients*; which is all the length that I have ever gone or ever meant to go in favour of any deceit or fiction whatsoever.

*But this, he tells us, is giving a greater power*

*Remarks on some Observations, addressed to the*  
*to Governours, than God himself claims ; of*  
*dispensing with the sacred and inviolable laws of*  
*truth. [20] Strange how he chanced to stumble*  
*on the sacred and inviolable laws of truth : wri-*  
*ters of his class never raise their thoughts so*  
*high ; or venture so far from shore ; but stick*  
*close to the infallible word, and universal Inspira-*  
*tion of the Bible. If there be any such laws,*  
*as without all doubt there are, 'tis certain that*  
*the Bible itself must be tried by them. And*  
*if they can't be dispens'd with by God, there*  
*seems to be little sense in what Dr. W. often*  
*alleges in his vindications of Scripture ; that*  
*the command of God alters the nature of the thing :*  
*for is not that to dispense with his sacred and in-*  
*violable laws ? But our Observator, having*  
*over-shot himself here, before he was aware,*  
*makes a quick retreat into his old trenches of*  
*absolute Inspiration, and leaves the laws of*  
*truth and reason to shift for themselves.*

He affirms *all degrees of fiction to be incon-*  
*sistent with any degree of Inspiration. Yet it*  
*would not be difficult to give instances of*  
*some degree of it, through all the inspired*  
*Writers both of the Old and New Testament.*  
*Pray what was St. Paul doing, when he be-*  
*came all things to all men ? Was he not em-*  
*ploying some little degree of fiction ? When our*  
*Saviour appeared to the Disciples going to*  
*Emmaus ; the very purpose of his appearing*  
*was, to tarry with them a while in the inn ; yet*  
*he*

*he made as if he would go farther, till they constrain'd him. (Luke xxiv.) Is not this likewise some small degree of it? how rash then is his Assertion; that the least degree of fiction is inconsistent with his nature, whose Law is the truth? [23]*

But I take shelter, it seems, in partial Inspiration, and bring the great names of Grotius and Tillotson to protect me in it. Upon which he observes, that *had I done as much for Christianity as they, I might have had some plea to be indulg'd in the like particularities.* [33] A fine observation truly! as if a greater merit gave a greater right to deliver what was false or hurtful to Christianity: no, the greater their services, the greater is the presumption, that they were still carrying them on, perfecting their work: and in my opinion, they could not have done greater, than by beating down the systems and prejudices of zealots, and fairly owning facts that lie open and visible to every rational Christian. But they, it seems, *only modestly suggest, that in a few instances of no moment, the superintendence of the Holy Spirit might be suspended.* Yet their few and modest suggestions reach so far as to intimate; that in the historical, and even the moral books of Scripture there is no necessity for Inspiration; since natural Talents are sufficient to discover and evince the truth: contrary to our Observator's assertion, that all the influence and truth of Scri-

*Remarks on some Observations, addressed to the  
 pture depend on its Inspiration.* [31] As if nothing could be true, or deserve to be consider'd as such, unless *divinely inspired*.

'Tis the reasoning of all divines, that the *truth of the Gospels* stands on the same bottom with every other *historical truth* in the world : and consequently, to deny their authority, is to deny the faith and truth of all history, and to destroy at once the credit of all antiquity. This reasoning is just and strong, if the Gospels be of the same class and species with other histories ; a narration of facts by credible persons, who knew them to be true, and related what they knew of them : but 'tis of very little force, if they must needs be received as *universally and absolutely inspired by God* : for in this view they have no relation to other histories ; stand on a quite different bottom ; and their credit may be disputed, without hurting common faith or common history.

To give assent to facts affirmed by proper witnesses, as 'tis an act highly rational, so 'tis all that is wanted to give them a reception in the world. The character of Inspiration superadded serves onely to introduce difficulties and doubts, where all was clear before, and cast an air of imposture over the whole. In the case therefore of the Gospels, where, according to *Grotius* and *Tillotson*, there is no want of such Inspiration, and where we find no claim or pre-  
 tence



tence to it; the asserting it to be necessary seems dangerous to Christianity itself, by unhinging and perplexing its proper and natural evidence.

But besides the great names of *Grotius* and *Tillotson*, I brought a greater still for my opinion, that of *St. Paul*; who owns himself on some occasions *destitute of divine Inspiration*. This our Observator grants in two places; but for a third, where the Apostle declares, that he *speaks after the manner of men* [a], he affirms it to be *nothing to the purpose*: [25] for if *he did not speak after the manner of men*, says he, *how would it be possible for men to understand him*? But if those words of *St. Paul* relate to the manner of speaking onely, what occasion for a distinction, where there can be no difference, whether *inspired or not*? for in both cases he must *speak to the senses*, and draw his arguments from *the notions of men*, or they could be no arguments at all to mankind. No, he seems to me to signify here what he does in the other places, that he is not delivering the dictates of God, but his own natural sentiments, as other men ordinarily do.

*St. Jerom* confirms this opinion, as our Observator allows, but whilst he allows the thing, with the usual art of these writers, he cavils

[a] Gal. iii. 15.

at my words ; and exclaims, that *Jerom* does not say, what I make him to say, that *St. Paul* disavows all pretence to divine Inspiration. [26] And yet, 'tis the whole purpose of *Jerom's* argument to assert and prove the very thing. But to shew the contrary, he gives us, what he calls a *juster translation than mine, and nearer the original of Jerom's words*. The old method of blowing up envy against me ; by calling that a *translation*, which I never design'd for such ; but for an extract onely of an Author's sentiments ; which is the case at present : for does not *Jerom*, in the place I refer to, affirm, that *St. Paul* has mistaken the sense, and made an improper application of a certain word, on which his argument turns ? This, though intimated by me [a], is not found in the words I produce, but is found however in the context, which our Observator could not be ignorant of. With what face then does he call that a *translation*, and arraign it as imperfect, which he knows could never be meant for one ? 'tis onely to raise a clamour and support the false charge he revives against me, of *perverting and misapplying my principal testimonies*. [43]

To return to the case of Inspiration, he allows, that *St. Paul* on some occasions declares himself destitute of it. [25] Yet in spite of *St. Paul's* concession and his own, he persists

[a] See Remarks on a Reply, 78.

stoutly to maintain the *absolute and unlimited Inspiration of all the Scriptures*; that their influence and truth depend upon it. [31] That there's a necessity to admit or reject the whole. [34] That the only basis of Christianity is the infallible truth, and universal Inspiration of the sacred Books. [43] What pure and genuine Orthodoxy is this? to believe against the conviction even of sense; against the evidence of plain fact; to subdue reason, judgment, and every faculty to Faith.

As for the reason of his Faith, he tells us gravely, that *partial Inspiration will in the end be no Inspiration at all*. [34] For, when every man has pick'd and cull'd out of his Bible what he does not like, very little of genuine Inspiration will be left behind. But must we then reject a fact because of its consequences? and must we not be content with our Religion, just as God has given it us? To strengthen what is from God, by adding to it, is just as impious as to weaken it by detracting from it. *Partial Inspiration* is a fact, which the history and testimony of the Scriptures themselves demonstrate: whatever be the effects of it, 'tis necessary to submit to them. It may probably overthrow the Systems of antient or modern Divines; but cannot possibly hurt any truth or article of Faith, that is necessary to be believ'd.

2. I proceed now to the other part of our  
Ob-

Observer's argument, or the sentence he has pronounced against me; *that my book ought to be burnt, and my self banish'd.* This he pretends to ground on my own reasoning against the *Author of Christianity as old, &c.* that since I have suggested this as a just punishment of an Author, in many respects less criminal than my self, and thought him worthy of so rigorous a treatment, my punishment ought to be the more remarkably severe. [40, 41] But here again, as in most other places, he mistakes and misrepresents me. I have declar'd no opinion; suggested nothing about it of my own: my meaning was to state a mere fact, as it stood among the antients; and to wipe off a scandal imputed to Christianity, of having introduced into society a spirit of persecution unknown to the Heathens; by shewing, in contradiction to the *Author of Christianity as old, &c.* that the Pagans punish'd men for opinions; had their *Holy Wars* and *Religious Tests* as well as we. I am far from affirming with our *Observer*, that these principles are right, agreeable to Christianity, the maxims of Reason, and the laws of Society: [40] no; my opinion is just contrary; that Reason was as much abused then, as Christianity is now, whenever any free debate or inquiry after Truth is made punishable for the sake of it; or indeed for any other cause, than as it actually disturbs the quiet of the State. My reasoning against the *Author of Christianity as old, &c.* is a mere argument *ad hominem*;

to



to prove that an attempt to abolish Christianity is contrary to the very maxims of Reason and Morality, that he himself lays down. If I do not mistake his purpose ; I take my reasoning to be just : if I do ; my argument is so far weaken'd by it, as 'tis pointed singly against a design to subvert the establish'd Religion, in order to advance Reason in its place, as a more perfect guide to the people.

If the Religion of a country was to be consider'd onely as an Imposture ; an engine of government to keep the people in order ; even there an endeavour to unhinge it, unless with a design to substitute a better in its stead, would in my opinion be highly unreasonable. But should the Priests of such a Religion, for the sake of their authority and power, labour to impose their own fictions for divine truths ; to possess the people with an enthusiastic zeal for them ; manageable onely by themselves, and to be played even against the government, as oft as it served their separate interests ; in such a case, 'tis the duty of every man, who loves his country, and his fellow creatures, to oppose all such attempts ; to confine Religion to its proper bounds ; to the use for which it was instituted ; of inspiring benevolence, modesty, submission into the people : nor suffer the credit of it to grow too strong for that of the State ; the authority of the Priest, for that of the Magistrate.

Was

Was Religion, I say, to be consider'd as an imposture, all men would think this conduct reasonable : and where it is in reality a *Revelation from Heaven*, the case is not altered, as far as the end of that Revelation is perverted and abused by the arts or the folly of men : as the *Jewish* was by the *Pharisees* ; the *Christian* by some of its *modern Advocates*. In such circumstances, in proportion as a man values his Religion, and believes it to be of God, he will exert himself to clear it from all human impositions ; which render it either of no effect, or of a mischievous one to society ; propagating *rage and strife and every evil work*, instead of the peace and happiness 'twas design'd to introduce. And if the end of all Revelation be to enforce with greater vigour, and by means more affecting to sense, the obligations of the natural Law ; those Priests are the truest friends to God and man, who labour to adapt it the most effectually to that end ; to expound it by the known principles of reason and morality ; and to make it amiable, by making it plain, rational, intelligible to common understandings.

As for those, who take the contrary way ; who either deny all natural law, or make it bend as they please, to their own comments on Scripture ; who build Religion on a principle of faith, distinct from reason ; look on the  
latter

latter with a jealous eye, as an instrument and engine of Satan ; who measure all truth by authority ; all credibility by testimony ; by which authority still and testimony they mean little more than their own, and to draw the greater dependance on themselves ; for these writers, I say, 'tis the duty of every rational Christian, to expose their principles, as slavish and superstitious ; destructive of that good, for which all Religion was given ; turning the best thing in the world into the worst ; a Revelation from heaven, into a doctrine hurtful and pernicious to mankind.

And ; where Religion, as with us, is received as of divine Authority, and on the best grounds and reasons embrac'd as such ; though I greatly condemn the perverseness of contesting truths so strongly established, yet I cannot think it agreeable either to Reason or Religion, to punish even such, as are hardy enough to call in question the reality of Revelation itself : for 'tis the greatest weakness and absurdity to think, that truth can ever be hurt by any examination whatsoever : it may be oppressed a while by faction, stifled by power ; but in a free debate, as in free air and exercise, it always regains its strength and vigour : controversy to truth, is like a gentle wind to trees ; it shakes the head, but fastens the root. Truth is naturally so amiable, that wherever 'tis expos'd to view, it necessarily draws all to admire it ; and the  
more

more 'tis expos'd, the more strongly it attracts. Where artifice indeed and fraud prevail in the stead of it, there all inquiry must industriously be discouraged, as a dangerous and fatal enemy; sure to detect and expose the cheat: and wherever 'tis discourag'd, there's always reason to suspect some latent imposture: now as sure as Truth and Falshood are contrary to each other; so sure it is, that the same method of treating them cannot possibly be of service to both.

As far as my experience has reached, either in ancient or modern History, there's not an instance on record, where a fair examination has ever done harm to a good cause. The attacks on Christianity, urged on by its warmest enemies, always turn to its advantage: they engage the Clergy to study and search into the true grounds of it; keep them in breath and exercise; and train them by constant discipline, to be able champions and defenders of it: they clear Religion it self of all the rust and rubbish, which by the negligence or the art of its managers, it may have contracted: and above all, they enforce and lay open the genuine proofs of it; which by time itself naturally grow languid and ineffectual; till a new debate, like a new publication, sends them fresh again into the world, in their original force and lustre.

'Tis



'Tis then my firm principle and persuasion, that a free inquiry into all points of Religion, is always useful and beneficial; and for that reason never to be punish'd or prohibited. It opens the minds and reforms the manners of the people; makes them reasonable, sociable, governable; easy to such as differ from them, and as little scandaliz'd at the different opinion, as the different complexion of their neighbour: whereas the restraint of this liberty, and the imposition of systems and articles, that must not be call'd in question, nourishes a churlish spirit of bigotry, uncharitableness, enthusiasm, which no Civil Power can moderate; a spirit that has so oft involv'd mankind in wars and bloodshed; and by turns endanger'd the ruin of every Christian Country in the World.

If therefore in my argument against *Christianity as old*, &c. I am understood to recommend or suggest in any manner the reasonableness of punishing the Author; I disclaim and disavow it, as contrary to my intention and my principles: all such punishment is against the interest of society; the interest of truth; the interest of Religion itself: which, as it could not have been propagated at first, but by a liberty of thinking, writing, preaching; so cannot be preserv'd in its purity, but by the very same means.

To return then to our Observator's sen-  
VOL. III. S tence;

tence ; that *my books ought to be burnt and my self banish'd*. As for my books, there's no saving them from the flames : but *for my person, he is willing to commute the punishment, from exile abroad, to confinement at home*. [41] But lest we should suspect him of any humanity or compassion in the proposal, he soon gives us to understand, that 'tis but to harass and plague me the more by it : the commutations of these men are not to mitigate, but enhance the rigour of punishment. I am to be kept at home, that he and all others of the same stamp may rail, preach, and pray over me, till I become a *standing spectacle* [41] of terror and example to all who dare to expose their Schemes. This puts me in mind of the poor *Jews at Rome* ; who every week in Lent are oblig'd to attend a sermon, and hear an angry Monk preach at them, and call them names by the hour, out of the same Christian principle, that our Observator professes, the same *honest intention of convincing them*. [12]

*But I have already undergone*, he says, *the worst sort of banishment a liberal mind can suffer ; a total one, from the hearts and affections of all good men* : [42] *that the cordial friendship, the love and real esteem, with which I used to be treated, is now dwindled into cold respect and a distant complaisance*. He does me the honour then to allow, that I was once a favourite, cordially esteem'd and lov'd by all, till an aversion to  
my

my opinions created an averſion to my perſon. As if a man were the leſs amiable for ſome particular ſentiments, or the leſs ſincere for declaring them : ſtrange character of friends ! whom neither old acquaintance, nor eſteem, nor a long intercourſe of friendly offices could reſtrain from diſcarding me, when diſcovered to think differently from them. Would not the ſame men who baniſh me thus from their affections, as readily baniſh me from all ſociety ? Nay, have they not attempted to do it, as far as it was in their power ? and will ſuch a conduct do credit to any ſet of men, in a country where reaſon and liberty have any influence ? Can *theſe good men*, who diſcard me, charge me with any falſhood or treachery in friendſhip ? with the refusal of any good office in my power ; any act of humanity or courteſy to any of them ? No, as they cannot charge me, I'm ſure, with any offence in practice, ſo I am the eaſier under the diſgrace I ſuffer for what is merely ſpeculative.

But whatever I have loſt with our *Obſerver's good men*, I have the comfort to find with others ; *good enough* for me ; who admit me to their company, and honour me with their friendſhip. Men of enlarged Minds and generous ſentiments ; who make true religion the rule, and virtue the end of their living ; who take immorality to be the greateſt hereſy ; and meaſure the merit of their friends, not by

*Remarks on some Observations, addressed to the*  
 their faith, but by a nobler principle, their charity; who reckon it no breach of friendship to differ in opinion; and even value me perhaps the more, for what the others persecute me. With men of this turn I shall breathe at least fresh air; and have more pleasure in the ease of one hour's conversation, than in years spent with the morose and the captious; under the slavish fear of offending, by starting any thing out of the road and train of popular thinking.

I have now followed our Observator thro' all his chain of reasoning; which I could not have submitted to, but to relieve some short intervals of leisure in an absence from books: and tho' I think him very injudicious in the choice and use of his materials, yet I must allow him to have shewn some art in the disposition of them. For having observ'd in what vogue the Sessions Paper has been in of late, and what demand for that kind of reading; he has contriv'd, we see, to throw his own papers into that form: the *Trial and Conviction of a notorious Infidel*; the *Sentence pronounc'd against him*; his *Confession, and Recantation*; with the *Ordinary's Sermon and long Prayer at his Execution*. What justice has been done me in the trial, I must leave to the judgment of others; but for the *Confession* here drawn up for me, I declare it to be false and spurious; such as I never did, nor ever will subscribe. Strange, that  
 a man



a man can be so silly as to imagine, that were I disposed to recant, I should not do it in my own words, rather than his ! but I have nothing to recant on the occasion ; nothing to confess, but the same *four Articles*, that I've already confess'd.

1. *That the Jews borrowed some of their customs from Ægypt.*
2. *That the Ægyptians were possess'd of arts and learning in Moses's time.*
3. *That the primitive Writers, in vindicating Scripture, found it necessary sometimes to recur to Allegory.*
4. *That the Scriptures are not of absolute and universal Inspiration [a].*

These are the onely crimes that I have been guilty of against Religion : and by reducing the Controversy to these four heads ; and declaring my whole meaning to be compriz'd in them, I did in reality *recant* every thing else, that thro' heat or inadvertency had dropt from me ; every thing that could be construed to a sense hurtful to Christianity. But this is a Recantation that does not please *our Observer* ; *these four heads*, he says, *may be debated innocently* : [29] and *no recantation* will satisfy him, but what carries crime and guilt along with it. What pity it is that *these inquisitors of*

[a] See Remarks on a Reply, &c.

ours have not the power of the rack to extort what confessions they please? All that this good man aims at, is to make me odious and detestable to every body; with a true *Popish Spirit*, he would draw me in to recant, and then proceed to burn; or with the old revenge of an *Italian*; first make me blaspheme, and then stab me.

But after so much bitterness of spirit, so much malice and rancour discharg'd against me, 'tis surprizing at last to see with what gravity he closes the whole, with a *long formal Prayer* for my conversion. He talks of *some wretches who say the Lord's Prayer backwards*. [19] What he means by it I cannot tell: but if to *pray backwards*, be to invert the intent and use of Prayer; to make it abominable to God, ridiculous to man; he must needs be the greatest Master of it, who thinks *forty pages of railing* a proper preface to *four of praying* [a]. This it is, after all, that does the greatest hurt, and gives the greatest scandal in Religion, to see such deadly venom and mischief cover'd by a mask of Piety. It was the characteristick, we know, of the *old Pharisees*, to make long prayers and to devour *Widow's houses*: our modern ones come not a jot behind them: we here see the *length of this Pharisee's Prayer*; and as far as I can judge by what I have suffer'd my self, his mouth is not more open to *pray* than 'tis to *devour*.

[a] See his prayer for me, p. 42, &c.

R E-

# REMARKS,

PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,

UPON THE

# PROPOSALS

Lately published by

*RICHARD BENTLEY,*

FOR

A New EDITION

OF THE

GREEK Testament and LATIN Version.

*Doctus criticus & adfuetus urere, secare, inclementer omnis generis libros tractare, apices, syllabas, voces, dictiones confodere, & stilo exigere, continebitne ille ab integro & intaminato Divinæ Sapientiæ monumento crudeles ungues?*

Petri Burmanni Orat. Lugd. Bat. 1720.

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 20, 1721.

**F**inding myself to be treated after a most barbarous manner in a virulent Libel, which bears the Title of Dr. Bentley's Proposals, with a full Answer, &c. upon Pretence of my being the Author of The Remarks upon the Proposals lately published by Richard Bentley, &c. I think it necessary upon several Accounts to declare as follows, viz.

That I am not the Author of those Remarks, nor any part of them, and that they were undertaken and written without my Assistance or Knowledge.

That R. B. certainly knew, or easily might have known, that they were written by the Reverend and Learned Dr. MIDDLETON, who had own'd them to several of his Friends, by whose means he verily believes, that R. B. was inform'd that he alone was the Author. For my own part, presently after the Remarks were publish'd, I took all Occasions to declare as above, being oblig'd in Justice so to do, lest my Silence might in some measure contribute to deprive my worthy Friend of the Honour due for so excellent a Performance: nor do I question but that R. B. before he began to write his Libel, had been acquainted with what I said on these Occasions.

That those foul Aspersions, which are cast upon me in almost every Page, are as false in Faët, as they are apparently malicious; which is notorious to all who know me, and to none more than R. B. himself.

That I never wrote any Libels against the Government, the College, or the Master, as he falsely asserts.

I never wrote anything at all relating to the Government, or publish'd any thing concerning the College, or the Master, except a Commemoration Sermon in Dec. 1717, which the Master pretended to approve of, giving it under his Hand that he would subscribe to every word of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have hitherto thought them fit onely for the Cognizance of a Visitor.

JOHN COLBATCH, D.D. Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Casuistical Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.



R E M A R K S,  
PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH  
UPON THE  
P R O P O S A L S

Lately Published

By *Richard Bentley, &c.*

I Shall not trouble myself with making any Apology for the following *Remarks*; but shall onely desire the Reader to believe, that (whatever Prejudices may lie against them) they were not drawn from me by *Personal Spleen*, or *Envy* to the Author of the Proposals, but by a *Serious Conviction* that he has neither Talents nor Materials proper for the Work he has undertaken, and that *Religion* is much more likely to receive Detriment than Service from it: The *Time*, *Manner*, and other Circumstances of *publishing these Proposals*, make it but too evident, that they were hastned out to serve quite *different Ends*, than those of *Common Christianity*; and I think it my Duty to obviate, as far as I am able, the Influence they might have on some whom *big Words* and *bold Attempts*

*Attempts* are apt to lead implicitly into an high Opinion and Admiration of the Merit and Abilities of the Undertaker.

The Title runs thus :

Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ GRÆCÆ. *Novum Testamentum Versionis Vulgatæ, per Sanctum Hieronymum ad vetusta Exemplaria Græca castigatæ & exactæ. Utrumque ex antiquissimis Codd. MSS. cum Græcis tum Latinis, edidit Richardus Bentleius.*

#### REMARKS.

Some people are puzzled to find out the meaning of the word GRÆCÆ, unless it be placed there *exegetically*, to let us know what Language ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ is of; but our Editor ought then to have gone on, and after *Novum Testamentum* have added likewise *in Latin*, which is just as Critical and Elegant as the other. The very next Words seem to be little better than a Barbarism, *Novum Testamentum Versionis Vulgatæ*; if he had quite inverted the Order and Construction of them, all had been clear and intelligible, *viz. Versio Vulgata Novi Testamenti*; but the other is hardly justifiable by any Rules of Grammar. And tho' it may have been the Stile of some other Editions, or might be allowed in a *Commentator*, yet is not such *Latin* as we expect from a *Critick*.

It

It is observed likewise, that he does not deal quite so honourably as he should with his *Partner Mr. John Walker*; for tho' in the close of the *Proposals* he allows him *half the Profit*, and almost *all the Trouble* of this Work, yet he here reserves the *whole Reputation* of it to himself with an *Edidit Richardus Bentleius*.

### Paragraph the First.

*The Author of this Edition, observing that the Printed Copies of the New Testament, both of the Original Greek and Antient vulgar Latin, were taken from Manuscripts of no great Antiquity, such as the first Editors could then procure; and that now by God's Providence there are MSS. in Europe, (accessible, though with great Charge) above a Thousand Years old in both Languages; believes he may do good Service to common Christianity, if he publishes a New Edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated Copies, but as represented in the most antient and venerable MSS, in Greek and Roman Capital Letters.*

### REMARKS.

Our Author, we see, with all his Zeal for *Common Christianity*, makes no Scruple to destroy here at once the Authority of all our *published Scriptures*, and by a kind of *Pa-*  
*pal*

*pal Edit* cries down all our *current Editions* as corrupt and adulterate, 'till coined and stamped anew by his Authority.

But the Injustice and Barbarity of this Censure on all *former Editors of the New Testament*, will easily appear by the short Account I shall give of two or three of the *principal Editions*; and 'tis such an *Insult* upon the Sense and Judgment of the Learned World, which has always set the highest Value upon many of them, that it cannot but raise an universal Resentment and Indignation.

The Editors of the *Celebrated Complutensian Edition*, printed 1515, were furnished by Pope Leo the Tenth with *all the Manuscripts of the Vatican*; besides many others of the *greatest Antiquity*, procured from distant parts of Europe by the Power and Interest of *Cardinal Ximenes*, the Patron and Promoter of the Work: Many of these we find described under the Characters of *Venerandæ vetustatis, Spectatæque fidei*, and some are said to be above *twelve hundred Years old*: The Cardinal, in his Prefatory Epistle to the Pope, says thus; *Et Castigatissima omni ex parte vetustissimæ Exemplaria pro Archetypis haberemus, quorum quidem tam Hebræorum quàm Græcorum & Latinorum multiplicem Copiam non sine summo labore conquistivimus.*

And



And the Editors in their Prologue say likewise; *Non quævis Exemplaria Editioni huic Archetypa fuisse, sed Antiquissima Emendatissimaque & tantæ præterea vetustatis, ut fidem eis abrogare Nefas videatur.*

Gomesius, *De rebus gestis Ximenii*, lib. 2. tells us, what great Pains and Expence the Cardinal was at in procuring Manuscripts from Rome, and other foreign Parts, as well as all the Libraries of Spain; and says, that seven onely of his Copies fetched from different Countries, cost him four thousand Aurei.

Dr. Mills says, that these Editors had collected *Lautam plane Codicum Manuscriptorum supellectilem*; and styles the Edition *Primam & Nobilissimam*, and, *Opus nunquam satis Celebrandum*. And our very Editor, if we may judge of his Opinion of this Edition by his Use of it, has fairly convicted himself, and may be brought as an Evidence for its Authority, having cited it near as often in his *Specimen* as any *Father* or *Manuscript* of them all.

Erasmus formed his *Edition* by *Collating* and *Comparing* a great many of the most correct and ancient Manuscripts, both Greek and Latin; his Words are, *Universum ad Græcæ Originis fidem recognovimus, idque non temerè neque levi Operâ, sed adhibitis in consilium compluribus utrius-*

*utriusque Linguae codicibus, nec iis sanè quibulibet sed Vetustissimis simul & Emendatissimis. Præf. ad Leon. X.* And in another Place, *Ad Græcæ Originis fidem examinatis codicibus Latinis neque tamen fidentes paucis aut quibulibet.* Dr. Mills compares one of Erasmus's Greek Manuscripts to the *Alexandrian* itself, which is supposed to be above twelve hundred Years old.

Rob. Stevens collected the Text of his Edition from no fewer than Sixteen of the best and most antient Manuscripts, some of which are described by him to be *Ipsâ vetustatis Specie pænè adorandos*; and our Editor himself, in his Remarks upon the Freethinkers, owns *this Edition, generally speaking, to be an accurate one*, which from him is a very extraordinary Character.

I need not mention the many other Editions we have of good Note; but shall leave it to the Reader to determine from these I have named, how just and modest our Author has been in this Paragraph; and whether Manuscripts of no great Antiquity, recent and interpolated, be the proper Translation of *Antiquissima Emendatissimaque Venerandæ Vetustatis Spectatæque fidei*.

But however barbarous this Treatment of our *first Editors* may seem, it is still much more unpardonable in respect to one of our last; I mean the *Learned Dr. Mills*, who with  
incre-

incredible Pains and Industry for thirty Years together, has drawn together, in his elaborate *Edition of the New Testament*, not onely whatever had been collected by *all other Authors and Editors* before him, but the Collations likewise of all the Manuscripts whatsoever which he had heard of or were at all famous in any part of *Europe*. There are many in his Collections above a *thousand Years old*, and in *Capital Letters too*; some of which our Author himself will allow to be the most *antient and valuable* in the World; and it is from this Magazine that our Proposer (as ungrateful as unjust) has upon the Matter borrowed all his Materials; and as far as we may judge from these Proposals, seems rather to copy and transcribe onely *this Edition*, than to design a new one.

I may justly therefore turn upon him his own Words, which were applied by himself in Defence of Dr. *Mills* against the Cavils of the Free-thinkers. Our learned Countryman Dr. *Mills*, *whose Friendship and Memory will ever be dear to me, meets with a sorry Recompense for his long Labour of thirty Years*.

But he tells us, that *now, by God's Providence, there are Manuscripts in Europe accessible, &c.* as if they had never been in *Europe* till now; but were just now dug out of the Ground like Medals, or imported lately from the *East or West Indies* for the Service of his Edition:

But

But if they are so *accessible* as he says, it is very certain that *Library-keepers* abroad have more *Humanity*, and less *Envy*, than some I could name at home.

### Paragraph the Second.

*The Author, revolving in his Mind some Passages of St. Hierom ; where he declares, that (without making a New Version) he adjusted and reform'd the whole Latin Vulgate to the best Greek Exemplars, that is, to those of the famous Origen ; and another Passage, where he says, that a Verbal or Literal Interpretation out of Greek into Latin is not necessary, Except in the Holy Scriptures, Ubi ipse verborum ordo mystrium est, Where the very Order of the Words is a Mystery ; took thence the Hint, that if the Oldest Copies of the Original Greek and Hierom's Latin were examined and compared together, perhaps they would be still found to agree both in Words and Order of Words. And upon making the Essay ; he has succeeded in his Conjecture, beyond his Expectation or even his Hopes.*

### REMARKS.

Here we are entertained with a short History of our Editor's great Design, and what an odd Accident, what a fortuitous Concourse of Atoms gave Birth to this mighty Work ; *thinking*, it seems, upon *some Passages of St. Hierom,*



rom, he first took a *Hint*, which being improved presently into a *Conjecture*, turned it self soon afterwards into a *Clue*, which *extricated* him out of the *Labyrinth*, and so the Business was done: This being therefore the applauded momentous Paragraph, on which the Reason and Necessity of this new Edition, and the whole Merit of these Proposals are entirely built, it will deserve a very particular Examination.

As for the first of these Passages referred to here by our Author, I much question whether it is to be found in direct and express Terms in any part of St. *Hierom's* Works: It is however pretty certain that St. *Hierom* did at first design to new model and reform the *Latin Vulgate of the New Testament*, according to the best Greek Copies of his time; but finding what an Offence he was like to give by so great an Alteration of a Version which the People were fond of, and had so long been used to, he changed his Mind, and was content onely to touch over and correct such Passages where the Sense seemed to have been mistaken, leaving the rest as he found it: This is the Account he himself gives us in his *Prefatory Epistle to Pope Damasus* prefixed to the Gospels: *Quæ nè multùm à Lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita Calamo temperavimus ut his tantum, quæ sensum videbantur mutare, correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.* Dr. Mills speak-

ing of St. *Jerom*, in relation to this very Subject, says, *Gaudemus quod in hac re parum sibi permiserit ac pauca duntaxat immutarit. Vid. Prolegom.* In so small an Alteration therefore as St. *Jerom* made, it is probable, that the *Order of Words* stood much the same both before and after his Reformation; and so leaving our Author to make what Use he can of this part of his Discovery, and to revolve it in his Mind as long as he pleases, I shall proceed to consider,

The second Passage above cited, which is taken from the *Epistle to Pammachius, De optimo genere Interpretandi*; where St. *Hierom's* Words are, *Sed liberâ voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Græcorum, absque Scripturis sanctis, ubi & Verborum Ordo & Mystrium est, non verbum ex verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.* Here we see that *Ordo Verborum* and *Mystrium* are plainly *disjoined* and *distinguished* from each other, and that our Editor has thought it convenient to throw out the *Disjunctives*, and clap in an *Ipse* to make the Words express more roundly the Sense he would put upon them.

I will not dispute with him about the different Significations, which this Passage and his Citation of it might bear, but will allow him for once that both express the same thing; yet it is very easie to shew, that he has widely mistaken the true Sense and Meaning of them.

The whole Subject of this *Epistle to Pamphilius* is the Defence of a Translation he had made, (not verbally, but according to the Sense) of a Greek Letter sent from one Bishop to another; where, besides alledging the Practice of profane Authors, he shews that the *best Interpreters even of Scripture* had no regard in their Translations to the *Words or Order of Words*, but to the Sense onely; which he proves by several Instances from the *Septuagint*, the *Evangelists*, the *Apostles*, the *Vulgate Edition* it self and the *Fathers*; and concludes, *Ut Reprehensores meos arguam imperitiæ, & impetrem ab eis veniam, ut concedant mihi in simplici Epistolâ quod in Scripturis sanctis, velint nolint, Apostolis concessuri sunt*; and again, *Ex quibus universis perspicuum est, Apostolos & Evangelistas in Interpretatione veterum Scripturarum sensum quaesisse, non verba, nec magnoperè de ordine sermonibusque curâsse dum intellectui res pateret*. It is certain therefore, that this famous Passage can onely be rendred thus, viz. That St. Hierom in translating Greek, did not endeavour to render Word by Word, but to express the Sense onely, except in *such particular Places of the holy Scriptures, where & Verborum Ordo & Mysterium est* for the Word *Ubi* must either have this *restrained and particular* Sense, or this Passage stands a direct Contradiction to the whole Reasoning and Tenor of the *Epistle*.

And such *particular places* of Scripture as are here meant, must certainly be looked for onely in the *Old Testament*, which St. *Hierom* likewise *translated into Latin from the Greek* of the *Septuagint*, and where the *Jewish Doctors and Rabbins*, and all the Writers infected with their Notions, are full of *superstitious Whims* about *Mysteries* in the *Order and Disposition not onely of Words*, but of *Syllables and Letters*. And St. *Hierom* himself, after he began to grow fond of Hebrew, might probably be a little touched with these kind of Fancies: but no one Writer that I have yet heard of has ever affirmed, that *the Order of Words* in the New Testament is *mysterious*.

I could shew from twenty Places of St. *Hierom*, that he never in the least dreamt of confining himself to the *Order of Words* in any of his Versions.

In a Letter to St. *Austin*, speaking of his Translations of the Old Testament, he says, *Et ibi Græca transfulimus; hinc de ipso Hebraico, quod intelligebamus, expressimus, sensuum potius veritatem, quàm verborum ordinem interdum conservantes*. And again, *Quod autem genus interpretationis in Scripturis sanctis sequendum sit, liber quem scripsi de optimo genere interpretandi, & omnes præfatiunculæ divinatorum voluminum, quas Editioni nostræ præposuimus, explicant*. And these Places  
he



he here refers us to, are full of nothing but *Rules*, and *Reasons*, and *Instances* of interpreting Scripture, not according to the *Words* but the *sense only*.

But I need not trouble myself any farther in a Case so clear and undeniable ; the Notion advanced here by our Editor, is in it self absurd and impossible ; *Erasmus* speaking on this Subject says, *Si minus verbum verbo respondeat, id quod ut maximè coneris, ne fieri quidem potest. Apolog.* which we find confirmed by Fact and Experiment ; for he says again in relation to this very *Version*, *Si nefas esse ducunt usquàm à literis ac syllabis discedere, cur hic Interpres passim id ausus est, aliquoties nulla adactus necessitate ?* &c. And *Arias Mont.* in his Preface says, *Ita ut sæpius ejus interpretatio non ad verbum, sed ad sententiam accipiendi sit.* And *Beza* likewise ; *Hoc quidem constat sæpe illam à Græcis discedere.* But we need go no farther for Proofs of all this than our *Author's own Specimen*, where in the *Latin Text*, as it stands dress'd up by himself, we see many considerable Variations in the Order of Words from the Greek, viz. *ŷ. 2, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14, &c.*

Allowing then that *St. Hieron* did believe the Order of Words to be mysterious in a few particular places of holy Scripture, which neither our Editor nor any Man else knows where to find : What can all this signify towards proving

the Necessity of a new Edition, or of what great Use and Service can it possibly be to any Editor in such a Design? Yet this is the sole Foundation upon which every thing that is *new* or can be *useful* in our Author's Performance is entirely built; for excepting this silly Fancy about the *Order of Words*, he cannot do any thing more with his *old Version* and *old Latin Manuscripts*, than what has been fully and effectually done before him by many other Editors.

*Erasmus* speaking of his own Edition says, *Testamentum Novum omni quâ licuit diligentia quâque decuit fide recognovimus, idque primum ad Græcam veritatem, deinde ad fidem vetustissimorum Latine Lingue Codicum. Præf. annot. N. T.* And Dr. Mills says, *Erasmus institutâ semel atque iterum Exemplarium Græcorum inter se & cum Manuscriptis Codicibus Versionis Vulgatæ Collatione, ad Editionem novi Fœderis se accinxit. Vid. Prolegom.*

*Rob. Stephens*, in the Preface of his Edition, Anno 1551, says, *Porrò Veterem Versionem negligendam non existimaui idque tribus potissimum de Causis, primum, quia eam multis in locis Vetustissimi Exemplaris Græci loco esse videbam.*

Mr. *Toinard* has also in a manner executed our Editor's very Scheme in his *Harmony of the Gospels*, printed at Paris 1709. and owns that

he borrowed the Hint from the Passage just cited of *Robert Stephens*; his Words are, *Ex qua Roberti Stephani de Veteri Interprete sententiâ Vulgatum Textum Græcum castigandum putavi ex Vaticanarum illarum Lectionum & Veteris Versionis mutuo Consensu.*

Dr. *Mills*, in his *Prolegomena*, says, *Veterem Novi Testamenti Italicam, ceu ad Exemplaria primæva compositum Summâ veneratione prosequimur*; and there is not one Citation of it in any of the Latin Fathers, nor any Emendation that St. *Hierom* afterwards made in it, which the Doctor has not actually exhibited and applied with great Judgment to the clearing up the genuiue Greek Text; and from these Citations, with the help of old Manuscripts, &c. he believes that he has *retrieved, in most parts of the New Testament, the true Readings of the old Vulgate, with the very Greek from whence they were taken*, which was probably that of the Age next to the Apostles.

All therefore that we can expect new from our Editor is, that having formed his Design upon a Notion which is not true, like all other *Authors of Systems*, he will be apt to wrest and force both the *Greek and Latin Texts*, to make them answer, as well as he can, to his *Hypothesis*.

In his *Sermon upon Popery*, preached at Cambridge,

bridge, and since printed, he speaks with some Contempt of the *Vulgar Latin*, as a Translation made by a *private and unknown* Person, which must have *several Defects and Ambiguities from the Nature of Language*, tho' the Author of it were inspired; that there are fewer *antient Manuscripts* preserved of it, than of the *Greek*, and that it has been more injured under the Hands of Transcribers, and exposes the Church of *Rome* for *enhancing* (as he says) *the Authority of it above that of the Inspired Greek*; where, by the by, he seems to know but little of the true State of the Question, but with the common Herd of Writers, charges upon the Papists a good deal more than is true of them in this Case: The Canon of the Council of *Trent*, in relation to *this Version*, runs thus: *Statuit & declarat ut hæc vetus & vulgata Editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsâ Ecclesiâ probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, & expositionibus pro Authentica habeatur*: Here we see no mention at all of the *Inspired Greek*, no comparing or enhancing the Translation above the Original, the Stream above the Fountain. *Vid. Bent. Sermon on Popery. Bellarmine's account of this Matter is; Nec enim Patres Fontium ullam mentionem fecerunt, sed solum ex tot Latinis Versionibus, quæ nunc circumferuntur, unam delegerunt quam cæteris anteponebant*, lib. 2. c. 10. *De Verbo Dei. Cæteris, quæ hodierno die extant, omnibus anteponendam duximus.* Arias Mont.

The



The Popish Writers indeed say in Defence of this Version, that being made in the earliest Ages of Christianity, from the pure Exemplars of those Times, and having continued ever since in the constant Use and Service of the *Latin* Church, it must needs be of equal Authority to any *Greek* Copies now extant: And is not our Author here saying and doing much the same thing which we justly condemn in the *Church of Rome*; undervaluing the Credit of all the *Greek Copies*; advancing and authorizing the *Vulgar Latin*, and proving it to be the best means we can use of finding out the *true Exemplars* of the Antients?

### Paragraph the Third.

*The Author believes, that he has retriev'd (except in very few Places) the true Exemplar of Origen, which was the Standard to the most Learned of the Fathers at the time of the Council of Nice and two Centuries after. And he is sure, That the Greek and Latin MSS, by their mutual Assistance, do so settle the Original Text to the smallest Nicety; as cannot be perform'd now in any Classic Author whatever: and that out of a Labyrinth of Thirty Thousand Various Readings, that croud the Pages of our present best Editions, all put upon equal Credit to the offence of many good Persons; this Clue so leads and extricates us, that there will scarce be two Hundred out of so many Thousands that can deserve the least Consideration.*

R E-

## REMARKS.

I have not been able to find, in any Author I have yet consulted on this Occasion, that *Origen's Exemplars of the New Testament* were so very famous for their particular Accuracy, as to be a *Standard to the most Learned Fathers*, or indeed to any Body besides himself: Most Churches in that early Age were probably furnished with Copies as correct as his: *He was accused of many Errors; excommunicated for them by the Churches of Alexandria and Rome; was suspected of doing Injury to some texts; doubted of the Canonicalness of some Books of the New Testament; Received and made use of others which were Apocryphal.* And tho' St. Hierom in his Youth was a great Admirer of him, and owns that he copied after him in his *Commentaries*, yet he had afterwards no great Opinion of his *Fidelity* or *Exactness* in *handling the Scriptures*, but says in a Letter to St. Austin, that the Text was rather *Corrupted* than *Mended* by him.

*Huetius* speaking of *Origen's* interpreting the Scriptures, says; *Non eâdem Editione in iis interpretandis usus est, in Homiliis Editionem sequebatur Communem, in Tomis alias Editiones consulabat;* and he accounts for the great Difference there is between *Origen's* Readings of the Text, and those of the common Editions, by the great Use he made of the *Apocryphal Gospel to the*

the Hebrews; *Utebatur sæpenumero Adamantius Evangelio secundum Hebræos (ut tradit Hieronymus, lib. de Script. Eccles. c. 4.) atque inde discrepantiam illam extitisse conjicio. Huetii Origeniana, lib. 3. c. 1.*

Dr. Mills says in his Prolegom. *That Origen, in Reading and Citing the New Testament did not stick to any certain Copy, but made use of different ones, and all of them in some places Corrupt.*

Indeed, Origen's celebrated Work, called *Hexapla*, and afterwards *Octapla*, (which was an Edition of the *Hebrew* Text of the Old Testament, with the several *Greek* Versions of it in different Columns) was a *Standard* to the *Fathers* for the Text of the *Old Scriptures*, who (excepting one or two of them) understood very little of *Hebrew*; but that his Authority was not near so great in the *New*, as in the *Old Testament*, we learn from *Ambrose*, lib. 5. Epist. 43. *Etsi sciam quòd nihil difficilius sit, quàm de Apostoli lectione differere, cùm ipse Origines longè minor sit in Novo quàm in Veteri Testamento.* That his Exemplar therefore was received as a *Standard of the Genuine Text of the New Testament*, seems to be a groundless Fancy or Mistake of our Editor.

But let this be as it will, he believes, it seems, that he has retrieved the *true Exemplar of Origen*; and we are consequently to imagine, that in the

Chapter

Chapter of his Specimen, the Text stands exactly the same, as it was read by that *great Man* : Yet upon examining his Notes I find, that in the whole he gives us but *three* various Readings from *Origen*, and instead of *retrieving*, *rejects* them all as *false*, §. 11, 13.

But one main Design of this Edition, is, we see, to reduce the *exorbitant Number of various Readings, which crowd the Pages of our best Editions, to the Offence of many good Persons* ; which is such a *piece of Grimace*, as will hardly pass upon the World ; by over acting his part he betrays his Insincerity and Design of imposing upon the Senses of Mankind.

In his Remarks on Free-thinkers, for many Pages together, he rallies and exposes, as weak and ridiculous, *the Offence which Dr. Whitby, and others, had taken at the great Number of various Readings which crowd the Pages of Dr. Mills's Greek Testament* ; he wishes that their *Number were still greater*, and proves, that the more they are, the better they clear and ascertain the genuine Text. *If I may advise you*, says he, *when you hear more of this Scarecrow of Thirty Thousand, be neither astonished at the Sum, nor in any pain for the Text.* Pag. 68.

But now to serve his present Turn, in contradiction to himself, and to common Sense, they must once more be made an Objection to *poor*  
Dr.



*Dr. Mills*; and all of them, except a few favourite ones, are now to be discarded, serving onely to *offend* and *perplex* the pious Reader.

But he will say, perhaps, that it is not *their Number* which gives so much Offence; but that they are all put, as he tells us, *upon equal Credit by our Editors*; the contrary of which is so directly and evidently true, that one would wonder what he could mean by such an Assertion. For do not our Editors, especially *Dr. Mills*, give a particular and distinct Account of the different *Antiquity, Authority, and Correctness* of the several *Manuscripts* they make use of: And do not they cite each Manuscript by its distinct and proper Title? How then can the *various Readings* be all put upon the *same Degree of Credit*, whilst the Copies, from whence they are taken, are all put upon so different ones?

Indeed, if other Authors had contented themselves with the slovenly and suspicious Way of quoting Manuscripts, which we find in this Specimen, *viz. Codd. plerique omnes Gallici quatuor, Anglici tres, Germ. unus, &c.* there might have been a good deal of Reason for a Charge of this Nature, which, by what is already hinted, appears in the present Case to be entirely groundless.

But

But after all, we find the *Various Readings* of the *Greek* onely near as numerous and bulky in this Specimen of his own, as in any of the former Editions he complains of; and if we may argue from the Proportion of them in this Chapter to the rest of his Work, his own Pages are still like *to be crowded with the old round Number of Thirty Thousand.*

#### Paragraph the Fourth.

*To confirm the Lectiōs which the Author places in the Text, he makes use of the old Versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic and Æthiopic, and of all the Fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the first Five Centuries; and he gives in his Notes all the Various Readings (now known) within the said Five Centuries. So that the Reader has under one View what the first Ages of the Church knew of the Text; and what has crept into any Copies since, is of no Value or Authority.*

#### REMARKS.

In this Paragraph, however *Pompous* and *Learned* it seems, our Author will be found, even by his own Confession, to fall very short of what has actually been executed by *other Editors* before him; for Proof of which, I need onely produce *his own Words* from his *Remarks upon the Free-thinkers, Part I. p. 64.* where

speaking

speaking of what had been done in former Editions, long before he dreamt of publishing one of his own, he says, *Nor has the Texts onely been ransacked, but all the ancient Versions; the Latin Vulgate, Italic, Syriac, Æthiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic, and Saxon, nor these onely, but all the dispersed Citations of the Greek and Latin Fathers, in a Course of five hundred Years:* All which is even less than what we find performed in the *single Edition of Dr. Mills*, which is particularly referred to in this Passage: For besides an Account and Examination of *every one of those Versions*, we have in the Doctor's Prolegomena, not onely *the dispersed Citations of the Fathers of the five first Centuries*, but of all other *Ecclesiastical Writers* of any Note, and what Age soever: However, I cannot help agreeing with our Editor, that as it is certain he does not understand a tittle of *any one of the Versions* here mentioned, he may do his business full as well with any *four*, as with them all.

How well he has kept up to this Proposal of giving us *all the Readings now known within the five first Centuries, and slighting all the rest*, may be seen in his Specimen, where he has omitted some Authorities that Dr. Mills had given, which come within his Period, *v. 2, 5, 7.* and has made more use of others which fall below it, than almost all his Fathers put together; and condescends even to take notice of printed Editions.

Paragraph

## Paragraph the Fifth.

*The Author is very sensible, that in the Sacred Writings there's no place for Conjectures or Emendations. Diligence and Fidelity, with some Judgment and Experience, are the Characters here requisite. He declares therefore, that he does not alter one Letter in the Text without the Authorities subjoin'd in the Notes. And to leave the free Choice to every Reader, he places under each Column the smallest Variations of this Edition, either in Words or Order, from the receiv'd Greek of Stephanus, and the Latin of the two Popes Sixtus V. and Clemens VIII. So that this Edition exhibits both it Self, and the Common ones.*

## REMARKS.

The Reader by this time will be pretty well able to judge how far the Character here given of a *Scripture-Editor* may be allowed to our *Proposer*; for his *Citations from St. Hierom* may serve as an Instance of his *Fidelity*; and the Conduct and Matter of these Proposals be a Proof of his *Judgment*; and his great *Experience in Theological Studies* may easily be computed from his whole Life spent in *critical Niceties*, and Observations on *Classical Authors*.

But he is very sensible, we see, what a Notion the World has entertained of his *critical Faculty*,



*Faculty*, and to quiet the Apprehensions People are under, lest he should treat the *Sacred Writers* with as little Ceremony as he has done the *Profane*, mangle and alter them at pleasure, agreeably to his own *Taste* and *Judgment*, without regard to the *Authority of Manuscripts*: He here declares, that he *will not alter one Letter in the Greek of Stephanus, and Latin of the two Popes, without Authorities subjoined.*

But the *Dutch Orator* and *old Friend of his Peter Burman*, whom I have quoted in the Title Page, has told us already what we are to expect; and it happens very unluckily for him, that he has not the Command of himself to keep his Resolution through one *single Chapter*; for besides some *literal Alterations* in the Greek, without *any Authority subjoined*, he has made an *Emendation* in the third Verse of the *Latin*; which he owns to be *contrary to all the Manuscripts he ever saw.*

#### Paragraph the Sixth.

*If the Author has any thing to suggest towards a Change of the Text, not supported by any Copies now extant; he will offer it separate in his Prolegomena; in which will be a large Account of the several MSS. here used, and of the other Matters which contribute to make this Edition useful. In this Work he is of no Sect or Party; his Design is to serve the whole Christian Name. He draws*

## REMARKS on the Proposals,

*no Consequences in his Notes; makes no oblique Glances upon any disputed Points, old or new. He consecrates this Work, as a κειμήλιον, a κτήμα ἑσαεὶ, a Charter, a Magna Charta, to the whole Christian Church, to last when all the Antient MSS. here quoted may be lost and extinguish'd.*

## REMARKS.

Our Author in this Paragraph, ravished with the great Success of his Labours, and the Prospect of his immortal Fame, cannot forbear *antedating* his future Glory, and signing his *Exegi monumentum* at the wrong end of his Work; but his Vanity seems full as ill natur'd as extravagant: for a *simple Immortality* will not, we see, content him, he must have no Rival: It is not enough that his Works live for ever, unless all others die, and his Edition must needs last, when all the *antient Manuscripts* are not onely *lost*, but (in a Phrase as barbarous as the Thought) *extinguished* too.

He has been ransacking, we find, all the Languages he is Master of, for *proper Encomiums* to bestow upon this Work of his; and one would think, that in *torturing the Scriptures*, he thought it necessary *like Pilate*, to set up an *Inscription* in three different Tongues. *Κειμήλιον, Charter, Magna Charta.*

*Κειμήλιον* signifies some *Rarity* or *choice piece* of Furniture, *not used*, but always *laid up* and  
kept

kept close with great care by the Owner. *Virgil* expresses the force of it by *condita seruo*, and Dr. *Mills* very properly calls the *Alexandrian Manuscript* a *κειμήλιον*; but to apply it to any printed Edition design'd for common use, and to be in every Bodies Hands, is a manifest impropriety and Contradiction in Terms; but since the *Alexandrian Manuscript* is, we find, to be extinguished, and this Edition to take its place, it may very well by a *Prolepsis* take its Title too, and so the Objection is solved.

But he will find it more difficult, I doubt, to account for the Authority he here assumes, of granting *Charters and Magna Charta's to the Christian Church*: The Scriptures, I know, have sometimes been called the *Church's Charter*, and Dr. *Trot*, in the Preface to his *Clavis Linguae sanctæ*, calls them *magnam Chartam non Regis terrestris sed cælestis subditis suis concessam*; which is at best but a coarse kind of Metaphor, and a Diminution to the sacred Writings: But to fasten this and the other Titles here given upon any particular unauthorized Edition, is an Insolence more than *Popish*, and altogether new and unheard of among *Protestants*, and is so far from becoming any private Regulator of the Text, that it is more than any *National Church* could justify to its Members: But after all his meaning may perhaps be very harmless, and his *Charter and Magna Charta* may signify nothing more than his *small* and his *great Paper* described in the next Paragraph. Para-

## Paragraphs the Seventh and Eighth.

*To publish this Work, according to its Use and Importance, a great Expence is requisite : It's design'd to be Printed, not on the Paper or with the Letter of this Specimen, but with the best Letter; Paper, and Ink that Europe affords. It must therefore be done by Subscription or Contribution. As it will make two Tomes in Folio, the Lowest Subscription for Smaller Paper must be Three Guineas, one advanc'd in present ; and for the Great Paper Five Guineas, two advanc'd.*

*The Work will be put to the Press, as soon as Money is contributed to support the Charge of the Impression ; and no more Copies will be Printed than are subscribed for. The Overseer and Corrector of the Press will be the Learned Mr. JOHN WALKER of Trinity-College in Cambridge ; who with great Accurateness has collated many MSS at Paris for the present edition. And the Issue of it, whether Gain or Loss, is equally to fall on Him and the Author.*

## REMARKS.

In a Design like this, pretended to be undertaken for the *Service of the Christian World*, any other Man would have contrived as well as he could to have kept out of sight all *selfish Views and Motives*, all Regards to *Gain and filthy Lucre* ;



cre : But we find in these two Paragraphs such *sordid Insinuations*, such low and poultry *biggling* to squeeze our Money from us, viz. great *Expense requisite* ; shall be put to the Press as soon as Money is contributed ; no more printed than subscribed for ; the best Letter, Paper and Ink in Europe ; the lowest Price must be, &c. that it puts me in mind of those *Mendicants* in the Streets, who beg our Charity with a *half Sheet of Proposals* pinn'd upon their Breasts : To what purpose is it to tell us that Mr. *John Walker* is to go halves with him in the *Gain or Loss* of this Work, except to move the Compassion of good *Christian People*, and to beg of us, however unkind we may be to himself, yet not to see a *poor young Critick* undone for want of charitable Contributions ?

But indeed most People are agreed in Opinion, that he has borrowed his Scheme from *Change-Alley*, and in this Age of *Bubbles* took the hint to set up *one of his own* : For having invented a *rare Secret* to make Paper more durable than *Parchment*, and a *printed Book*, however used and tumbled about, to *out-last any Manuscript* preserved with the utmost Care, he presently takes in a *Partner*, opens Books for *Subscriptions*, and does not in the least question but that *Bentley's Bubble* will be as famous and profitable as the best of them ; and so leaving him to carry on *his Trade*, I shall pass on to an Observation or two upon his Specimen.

## The SPECIMEN.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΩΣ

APOCALYPSEOS

ΚΕΦ. κβ'.

CAP. XXII.

Ι **Κ** ΑΙ ἔδειξεν μοι πο-  
ταμὸν ὕδατος ζω-  
ῆς, λαμπρὸν ὡς κρῆσαλ-  
λον, ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τῆς  
θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρ-  
νίαις.

Ι **E** T ostendit mihi  
fluvium aquae  
vitae, splendidum tam-  
quam Crystallum, pro-  
cedentem de sede Dei  
& agni.

2 Εμμέσῳ τῆς πλα-  
τείας αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς πο-  
ταμῷ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεί-  
θεν, ξύλον ζωῆς ποιῶν  
καρποὺς δώδεκα, καὶ ἅ-  
μην ἓνα ἑκάστον ἀποδι-  
δῶν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῇ καὶ  
τὰ φύλλα τῆς ξύλου εἰς  
θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν.

2 In medio plateae  
ejus, & ex utraque  
parte fluminis, lignum  
vitae adferens fructus  
duodecim, per men-  
ses singulos reddens  
fructum suum, & fo-  
lia ligni ad sanitatem  
gentium.

3 Καὶ πᾶν κατάθε-  
μα ἐκ ἔσται ἔτι, καὶ ὁ

3 Et omne male-  
dictum non erit am-  
plius,

1 μοι καθαρὸν ποταμὸν·  
2 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκείθεν. 3  
πᾶν κατανάθεμα.

I. Καθαρὸν ποταμὸν] Deest καθαρὸν Alex. Codd. Anglici duo, Gallici tres; Vers. Copt. Syr. Aeth. Hilarius; Codd. Latini omnes. sed Andreas & Arethas ποταμὸν καθαρὸν. Gall. unus, ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς καθαρόν. II. Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν] Alex. Codd. Angl. duo, Gall. quatuor, Germ. unus, Arethas, καὶ ἐκείθεν. III. Κατανάθεμα] Alex. Arethas, Andreas, Codd. plerique omnes,

Θρόνον τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγ-  
νίᾳ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσται, καὶ οἱ  
ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ λατρεύσα-  
σιν αὐτῷ.

4 Καὶ ὄψονται τὸ  
πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ  
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν με-  
τώπων αὐτῶν.

5 Καὶ νύξ ἔκ ἔσται  
ἔτι, καὶ ἔχ ἔξουσιν χρεῖαν  
φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς  
ἡλίου, ὅτι κύριος ὁ Θεὸς  
φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ  
βασιλεύουσιν εἰς τὰς  
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

6 Καὶ εἶπέν μοι, οὕ-  
τοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ

U 4

5 ἔκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ. καὶ χρεῖαν  
οὐκ ἔχουσι λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς  
ἡλίου. φωτίζει αὐτούς. 6 καὶ  
κύριος, deest ὁ. ὁ Θεὸς  
τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν.

plius, & sedes Dei &  
agni in illa erit, &  
fervi ejus servient illi.

4 Et videbunt fa-  
ciem ejus, & nomen  
ejus in frontibus eo-  
rum.

5 Et nox ultra non  
erit, & non egebunt  
lumine lucernae, neque  
lumine solis, quoniam  
dominus Deus inlumi-  
nabit illos, & regnabunt  
in saecula saeculorum.

6 Et dixit mihi,  
Haec verba fidelissima  
& ve-

3 sed sedes dei. in illa  
erunt

6 fidelissima sunt & vera.

nes, Editio Complut. κατὰθεμα. Sed sedes dei] Codd.  
Lat. plerique omnes Et sedes, ut Graeci omnes καὶ Erunt]  
Ita Codd. quos adhuc vidi; Legendum Erit; nam Graeci  
universi ὁ Θρόνος. V. Νύξ ἔκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ] Alex. ἔσται ἔτι.  
Syr. Latini omnes. In Graecis plerisque deest ἐκεῖ.  
Χρεῖαν ἔχουσι λύχνου] Alex. ἔξουσιν χρεῖαν φωτὸς λύχνου;  
& sic Gregorius Palamas, & Codd. Latini omnes. Syrus.  
Copt. Aethiop. Φωτὸς ἡλίου] Alex. Φῶς ἡλίου. Φωτίζει αὐ-  
τούς] Latini plerique Illuminat, Sed Alex. Greg. Palamas,  
Φωτίσει ἐπ' αὐτούς. VI. Καὶ κύριος] Alex. καὶ ὁ κύριος.

ἀληθινοί· καὶ ὁ κύριος ὁ  
Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν  
προφητῶν ἀπέστειλεν τὸν  
ἄγγελον αὐτῆς, δείξαι  
τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς ἃ δεῖ  
γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει.

7 Καὶ ἰδὲ ἔρχομαι  
ταχύ. μακάριος ὁ τη-  
ρῶν τὰς λόγους τῆς προ-  
φητείας τῆς βιβλίας τῆς  
τῆς.

8 Καὶ ἰωάννης ὁ  
ἀκῶν καὶ βλέπων ταῦ-  
τα. Καὶ ὅτε ἤκουσα  
καὶ ἔβλεπον, ἔπεσα προ-  
σκυνῆσαι πρὸ ποδῶν τῆς  
ἀγγέλου τῆς δειγνύοντός  
μοι ταῦτα.

7 Idē, deest καὶ. 8 Καὶ  
ἐγὼ. ὁ βλέπων ταῦτα καὶ ἀ-  
κῶν. καὶ ἔβλεψα, ἐμπροσ-  
θεν τῶν ποδῶν.

Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἀγίων προφητῶν] Sic edidit Erasmus. Sed  
Complut. Alex. Arethas, Graeci Codd. fere omnes, La-  
tini omnes, Syr. Copt. Aethiop. τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφ.  
Fidelissima sunt & vera] Codd. veteres, fid. & vera sunt.  
VII. Idē] Καὶ ἰδὲ Alex. Andreas, Arethas, Syrus, Codd.  
Graeci plerique omnes, Latini ad unum omnes. VIII.  
Καὶ ἐγὼ Ιω. ὁ βλέπων ταῦτα καὶ ἀκῶν] Alex. Andreas,  
Complut. Syrus, Latinus, Codd. Graeci plures. Καὶ ἰω  
Ιω. ὁ ἀκῶν καὶ βλέπων ταῦτα. Dionysius Alexandrinus  
bis, Καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ βλέπων καὶ ἀκῶν ταῦτα. Εμπροσθεν τῶν  
ποδῶν] Alex. πρὸ ποδῶν.

& vera sunt & domi-  
nus Deus spirituum  
prophetarum misit an-  
gelum suum, osten-  
dere servis suis quae o-  
portet fieri cito.

7 Et ecce venio ve-  
lociter. beatus qui cu-  
stodit verba prophetiae  
libri hujus.

8 Et ego Johannes,  
qui audiui & vidi haec.  
Et postquam audissem  
& vidissem, cecidi ut  
adorarem ante pedes  
angeli qui mihi haec  
ostendebat.



9 Καὶ λέγει μοι,  
Ὅρα μή. σύνδελός σε  
εἰμὶ, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν  
σε τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ  
τῶν τηρέντων τὰς λόγους  
τῆς βιβλίας τούτης. τῷ  
Θεῷ προσκύνησον.

10 Καὶ λέγει μοι,  
Μὴ σφραγίσῃς τὰς λό-  
γους τῆς προφητείας τῆς  
βιβλίας τούτης· ὁ καιρὸς  
γὰρ ἐγγύς ἐστιν.

11 Ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀδικη-  
σάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς  
ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δι-

9 Et dicit mihi, Vi-  
de ne feceris : conser-  
vus tuus sum, & fra-  
trum tuorum prophe-  
tarum, & eorum qui  
servant verba libri hu-  
jus : Deum adora.

10 Et dicit mihī,  
Ne signaveris verba  
prophetiae libri hujus :  
tempus enim prope  
est.

11 Qui nocet noceat  
adhuc, & qui in for-  
dibus est fordescat ad-  
huc.

9 σε γὰρ εἰμι. 10 τέ-  
τα ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν.

11 Καὶ ὁ ῥυπῶν ῥυπωσάτω  
ἔτι. ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω  
ἔτι.

9 Et dixit mihi. Con-  
servus enim tuus. verba  
prophetiae libri.

11 Et qui justus est justifi-  
ficetur adhuc.

IX. Et dixit mihi] Codd. veteres constanter, Dicit ;  
ut Gr. λέγει. Σύνδελός σε γὰρ εἰμὶ. & Vulg. Conser-  
vus enim tuus sum] Atqui Alex. Arethas, Andreas, A-  
thanasius, Copt. Syr. Graeci Codd. omnes tollunt γὰρ ;  
& Latini itidem omnes & Cyprianus tollunt enim. Verba  
prophetiae libri] Latini veteres omnes tollunt prophetiae.  
X. "Οτι ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν.] Sic Andreas, & Cyprianus  
bis, Quia jam tempus in proximo est. Sed Alex. Codices  
Gr. plures, Syr. Copt. Latini omnes, Ο καιρὸς γὰρ ἐγγύς  
ἐστιν. Graeci ceteri ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν. desunt ὅτι & γὰρ.  
XI. Καὶ ὁ ῥυπῶν ῥυπωσάτω ἔτι.] Deest hoc Comma in  
Alex. & duobus Gallicis errore Librariorum ob repetitio-  
nem

δίκαιαιⓈ δικαιουσύνην ποι-  
ησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ἅγιοςⓈ  
ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι.

huc, & justus justitiam faciat adhuc, & sanctus sanctificetur adhuc.

12 Ἰδὲ ἔρχομαι τα-  
χύ· καὶ ὁ μισθός με  
μετ' ἐμῶ, ἀποδοῦναι ἐ-  
κάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν  
αὐτῷ.

12 Ecce venio cito :  
& merces mea mecum  
est, reddere unicuique  
secundum opera sua.

13 Εγὼ τὸ Ἄλφα  
καὶ τὸ Ω, πρῶτοςⓈ καὶ ἑ-

13 Ego A & Ω,  
primus & novissimus,  
prin-

12 Καὶ ἰδὲ. ἔργον αὐ-  
τῷ ἔσαι. 13 Εγὼ εἰμι τὸ  
Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέ-  
λοςⓈ, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχα-  
τος.

13 Ego sum A & Ω.

nem τῷ ἔτι. At ceteri fere omnes, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ἔτι. Origenes ad Johannem bis, ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπανθήτω ἔτι. Idem ibid. aliud membrum addit, Ως ὁ Ἰωάννης φησι, καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς καθαρισθήτω ἔτι (MS. Oxon. καθαρθήτω) καὶ ὁ ἅγ. ἁγιασθήτω. Καὶ ὁ δίκαιοςⓈ δικαιωθήτω] Alex. & Codd. ceteri omnes, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. Latin. Syr. Copt. δικαιουσύνην ποιησάτω. Cyprianus bis ; Justus *justiora faciat* adhuc. Et qui justus est justificetur adhuc, veteres Codd. fere omnes, Et Justus justitiam faciat adhuc. XII. Καὶ ἰδὲ] Delent καὶ Alex. Codd. plerique omnes Arethas Complut. Syr. Copt. Latini Codd omnes. Cyprianus bis. Ἐργον αὐτῷ ἔσαι] Alex. Gallicus unus, Syr. ἐστὶν αὐτῷ. XIII. Εγὼ εἰμι] Deest εἰμι Alex. Athanasius, Codd. fere omnes, Andreas, Arethas. Sed Origenes habet εἰμι bis. Ego sum] Deest sum. Codex Sancti Germani veterrimus. Ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος] σχάτος]

σχατῶ, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ πρincipium & finis.  
τέλῳ.

14 Μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν εἰσελθῶσιν εἰς τὸν πόλιν.

15 Ἐξω οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ φαρμακοὶ καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰ-

14 Beati qui lavant stolas suas, ut sit potestas eorum in ligno vitae, & portis intrent in civitatem.

15 Foris canes & venefici & impudici & homicidae & idolis fervientes.

14 Μακάριοι οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτῶ ἵνα. 15 Ἐξω δὲ οἱ κύνες, πᾶς ὁ φιλῶν.

14 Stolas suas in sanguine agni.—& per portas intrent.

σχαλός] Sic Andreas, Arethas, & Codd. quidam. Sed Alex. Athanas. Codd. Anglici tres. Gall. duo, Syr. Latini omnes, Cyprianus, alio ordine, πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. Origines bis habet ἡ ἀρχ. καὶ τὸ τέλος: sed ordine, ut Andreas. XIV. Οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτῶ] Ita Codd. Graeci plerique omnes, Copt. Syr. Tertull. Cypr. Sed Alex. Anglicus unus, Aeth. Latini Codd. omnes οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, Athanas. οἱ πλύνοντες ποιοῦντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, errore Librarii pro πλύνοντες. Arethas, ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐμῶν ut sententia illa postulare videtur. In sanguine agni] Defunt in veteribus Codd. omnibus. Per portas]. Tres Codd. veterrimi portis, ut Graeci omnes τοῖς πυλῶσιν. XV. Ἐξω δὲ οἱ κύνες] Deest δὲ Alex. ceteri fere omnes, Athanasius, Hippolytus, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. Latini omnes, Cyprianus. Πᾶς ὁ φιλῶν] Deest articulus ὁ Alex.

δωλολάτραι, καὶ πᾶς vientes, & omnis qui  
 φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος. amat & facit menda-

cium.

16 Εγὼ Ἰησοῦς ἔπεμ-  
 ψα τὸν ἄγγελόν μου,  
 μαρτυρῆσαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα  
 ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Ε-  
 γὼ εἰμι ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ  
 γένος Δαυὶδ, ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ  
 λαμπρὸς καὶ ὁ πρωῒνος.

16 Ego Jesus misi  
 angelum meum, testi-  
 ficari vobis haec in  
 Ecclesiis. ego sum ra-  
 dix & genus David,  
 stella splendida & ma-  
 tutina.

17 Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ  
 ἡ νύμφη λέγουσιν Ἔρχε-  
 καὶ ὁ ἀκούων εἰπάτω, Ἔρ-  
 χε καὶ ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω.  
 ὁ θέλων λαβέτω ὕδωρ  
 ζωῆς δωρεάν.

17 Et spiritus &  
 sponsa dicunt, Veni :  
 & qui sitit veniat : qui  
 vult accipiat aquam  
 vitae gratis.

16 ταῦτα ἐπὶ ταῖς. γέ-  
 νος τῆ Δαβὶδ. λαμπρὸς καὶ  
 ὁ ὀρθρινός. 17 λέγουσιν,  
 Ελθέ. εἰπάτω, Ελθέ. δι-

17 Et qui vult.

ὁ Alex. alii multi. Sed Athanasius, Hippolytus, cum  
 Codd. quibusdam πᾶς ποιῶν καὶ φιλῶν. XVI. Ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 ἐκκλησίαις] Ἐν ταῖς Alex Codd. 2 Gallici. Athanasius.  
 Deest praepositio in Codd. multis. Τῆ Δαβὶδ] Deest τοῦ  
 Alex. Codd. multi. Athanasius, Andreas, Arethas. Porro  
 omnes Graeci Δαυὶδ, vel compendiose δαδ; nusquam in-  
 venit Δαβὶδ. Λαμπρὸς καὶ ὁ ὀρθρινός] Alex. καὶ ὁ πρωῒνος.  
 Sed ceteri Cod. cum Athanasio, Andrea, Aretha, Complut.  
 πρωῒνος. XVII. Ελθέ εἰλθέ—εἰλθέτω] Alex. & ceteri om-  
 nes, Athanas. And. Arethas, Complut. ἔρχε—ἔρχε—  
 ἐρχέσθω. Καὶ ὁ θέλων λαμβανέτω τὸ ὕδωρ] Deest καὶ &  
 postea ὁ θέλων λαβέτω ὕδωρ. Alex. Codd. fere omnes,  
 Athanasius, Andreas, Complut. Et qui vult] Codd.  
 Latini veteres tollunt Et.

18 Con-



18 Μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ  
 παντὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι τὰς  
 λόγους τῆς προφητείας  
 τῆ βιβλίας ταύτης, ἐάν  
 τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά, ἐ-  
 πιθήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἐπ' αὐ-  
 τὸν τὰς πληγὰς τὰς  
 γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βί-  
 βλίῳ ταύτῳ.

19 Καὶ ἐάν τις ἀ-  
 φέλῃ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων  
 τῆ βιβλίας τῆς προφη-

18 Contestor ego  
 omni audienti verba  
 prophetiae libri hujus,  
 si quis adposuerit ad  
 haec, adponet Deus  
 super illum plagas  
 scriptas in libro is-  
 to.

19 Et si quis dimi-  
 nuerit de verbis libri  
 prophetiae hujus, au-  
 feret

ψῶν ἐλθέτω, καὶ—λαμβανέ-  
 τω τὸ ὕδωρ. 18 Συμμαρ-  
 τυρεῖμαι γὰρ παντὶ ἀκού-  
 ῳ· ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ πρὸς ταῦτα.  
 ἐν βιβλίῳ deest τῷ. 19 ἐάν  
 τις ἀφαιρῇ—λόγων βίβλος.

18 Contestor enim omni.  
 19 de libro vitae.

XVIII. Συμμαρτυρεῖμαι γάρ] Alex. & alii Codd. ple-  
 rique & Complut. & Andreas μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ : pauci cum  
 Aretha μαρτύρομαι ἐγὼ : nullus, quod sciam, συμμαρ-  
 τυρεῖμαι, neque γάρ. Contestor enim omni] Codd. veter-  
 rimi quicumque, Contestor ego omni. Παντὶ ἀκούοντι] Alex.  
 Andreas. Arethas, Codices plures, παντὶ τῷ ἀκ. Επι-  
 τιθῇ πρὸς ταῦτα] Alex. Codd. plerique omnes Andreas,  
 Arethas, Complut. ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά. Ἐπ' αὐτὸν] Deest  
 Alex. sed ceteri Graeci & Latini omnes cum Andrea &  
 Aretha habent. Ἐν βιβλίῳ] Alex. Arethas, Andreas,  
 Codd. plurimi ἐν τῷ βιβ. XIX. Ἀφαιρῇ—ἀφαιρήσει] Alex.  
 Codd. plerique, Andreas, Arethas, Complut. ἀφέ-  
 λῃ, & deinde pro ἀφαιρήσει. Alex. Arethas cum Codd.  
 pluribus habent ἀφελεί : alii cum Andrea & Complut.  
 ἀφέλοι ;

τείας ταύτης, ἀφελεί  
ὁ Θεὸς τὸ μέρος αὐτῆς  
ἀπὸ τῆς ξύλης τῆς ζωῆς,  
καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῆς  
ἁγίας, τῶν γεγραμμέ-  
νων ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ.

20 Λέγει ὁ μαρτυρῶν  
ταῦτα, Ναὶ ἔρχομαι  
ταχύ. Ἀμήν, ἔρχε  
κύριε Ἰησοῦ.

21 Ἡ χάρις τῆς κυ-  
ρίε Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων.

ἀφαιρήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ —  
βίβλης τῆς ζωῆς — καὶ  
τῶν γεγραμ. ἐν βιβλίῳ.  
20 Ναὶ ἔρχε. 21 κυρία ἡ-  
μῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ π. ὑ-  
μῶν ἀμήν.

ἀφελοί; & hi supra pro ἐπιθήσει habent ἐπιθή. Λόγων  
βίβλης] Τῆς βιβλίας Alex. Codd. fere omnes, Andreas, A-  
rethas. Ἀπὸ βίβλης τῆς ζωῆς] Alex. Codd. Graeci fere  
omnes; Andreas, Complut. Syr. Aeth. ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλης  
τῆς ζωῆς. De libro vitae] Latini quique vetustissimi; de  
ligno vitae. Καὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων] Deest καὶ Alex. Codd.  
fere omnes, Complut. Andreas, Arethas. Copt. Syr. Aeth.  
Ἐν βιβλίῳ] Idem Codd. cum Andrea & Aretha ἐν τῷ βιβ-  
λίῳ. XX. Ἀμήν, ναὶ ἔρχε] Deest ναὶ Alex. Codd. plu-  
rimi, Andreas, Syr. Copt. Aeth. XXI. Κυρία ἡμῶν]  
Deest ἡμῶν Alex. Codd. plures, Andreas, Arethas. Nostri]  
Deest Codd. vetustus Gallicus. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] Deest Alex.  
Christi] Deest codex Anglicus, Μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. Ἀ-  
μήν] Desunt ὑμῶν. Ἀμήν. Alex. Cum omnibus vobis,  
Amen] Desunt vobis, Amen. 3 Codd. Gallici.

feret Deus partem e-  
jus de ligno vitae, &  
de civitate sancta, [&  
de his] quae scripta  
sunt in libro isto.

20 Dicit qui testi-  
monium perhibet isto-  
rum, Etiam venio ci-  
to. Amen, veni do-  
mine Jesu.

21 Gratia domini  
Jesu cum omnibus.

21 Domini nostri Jesu  
Christi cum o, vobis. A-  
men.

REMARKS.

## REMARKS.

I have been endeavouring to shew in the foregoing Remarks, that *our Editor*, upon his own Scheme, cannot give us any thing new, or at least considerable above what has already been executed in former Editions ; and for the Truth of what I have advanced, I come now to appeal to his *Specimen* ; where, tho' one would have expected something *great and extraordinary*, equal to the *Pomp and Magnificence of his Proposals*, yet with all his *Hints and Conjectures*, his *old Manuscripts and Versions*, he has not been able to produce *one single Reading*, which we do not find long ago exhibited in Dr. *Mills's Edition* : All the difference is, that he has inserted some Readings into the Text, which the Doctor for good Reasons has left to the Judgment of his Reader at the bottom of his Page.

I shall not examine the Merit of each particular Alteration he has made in the Text, it will be sufficient to take notice onely of one, as a Taste of his great *Sagacity and Judgment*.

In the second Verse of this Chapter, all the Editions I have yet seen, read ἐν|εὐθεῖν καὶ ἐν-  
τεῦθεν, which is a *pure Hebraism* expressed al-  
ways in that Language by a *Repetition of the  
same Word* מִזֶּה וּמִיָּמִינֶה : מִפָּנָיו וּמִפָּנָיו :  
hinc

*hinc* & *hinc*: we find the Phrase very often in the Old Testament, and constantly rendred in the Greek by ἐν|εὐ|θεν καὶ ἐν|εὐ|θεν, ἐν|θεν καὶ ἐν|θεν, ἐν|θα καὶ ἐν|θα, (*Dan.* xii. 5. *Numb.* xxii. 24. *Ezek.* xl. 34, 37. 1 *Mac.* vi. 45.) and St. *John* himself in his Gospel, (xix. 18.) has likewise the very words ἐν|εὐ|θεν καὶ ἐν|εὐ|θεν, without so much as a *various Reading* yet observed upon it; and 'tis not possible to imagine, that being a *Jew* he could use any other Phrase. Yet our Editor not content, like Dr. *Mills*, to observe in his Notes the different Reading of this Passage in some *few Manuscripts*, has instead of the second ἐν|εὐ|θεν boldly advanced ἐκ|εῖ|θεν into the Text, fancying it, I suppose, to be something more *Elegant*.

As for the *Latin Version*, the Reader will easily see, that it is upon the Matter a *Verbal Translation*, imitating as nearly as possible the great Plainness and Simplicity of Stile in the *Greek*, which makes it necessary in a good Measure to fall into the *same Order of Words*; but this is no new Observation or Discovery of our Proposer's, but what all other Editors have constantly observed, and applied accordingly to their Purpose: St. *Austin* calls this Version, *Verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate Sententiæ*.

And Dr. *Mills* shews us the Genius and Nature of it through all the several Books of the New Testament, and says, that in the *Revelations*



tions particularly, *Versio admodum accurata erat, ipsisque textus Græci Vestigiis ubique fere καὶ ὁ-  
δῶς infistebat, nisi cum series narrationis exigeret, ut mutarentur verborum tempora.* Proleg. Which may suggest one Reason, amongst others which are obvious, why *this Chapter* was made choice of for the *Specimen*; but that the *Order of Words of the Greek* is not constantly and unalterably observed in the *Latin*, appears from many Instances in this Chapter, as I have above remarked; which is sufficient to overthrow our Author's Hypothesis.

After all, I will not pretend to deny, that our Author may possibly have met with and collated some few *Manuscripts*, which Dr. *Mills* had not heard or made use of; but what Reason or Pretence can this give him for such a Triumph and Insult over all the Editors before him?

He has already told us, (*Remarks on Free-thinkers*, page 69.) That with all the *Thirty Thousand various Readings*, no one Article of Faith or even moral Precept is either lost or perverted in them, chuse as awkwardly as you can, chuse the worst by design out of the whole lump: How ridiculous is it then to make such a pothier about the discovery of a few more insignificant ones, as if the Cause of Religion, and the Support of the Christian Church depended upon it?

He may indeed, if he pleases, like his *Friend Dr. Kuster*, publish a *new Edition of Dr. Mills's Work*, with the additional Readings he has picked up (if any such there be) and *the Latin Version* besides; but while he pretends to give us a *new Original Edition of his own*, upon the *Scheme and Plan of these Proposals*, he will be found, I am apt to think, at last to have acted *the Plagiary* rather than the *Critick*.

I might properly enough observe the many *Blunders and Erratas of the Press*, (as remarkable in *this Specimen* as in the very worst of our *printed Editions*) to shew that there is no kind of *Inaccuracy* but what may justly be charged upon it; but the Reader is, I believe, already sufficiently convinced with the *Author of St. James's Post*, that those *Proposals* are a most *curious Piece*, since so much *Vanity, Pedantry, Blunder, and Self-Contradiction* were hardly ever found together before within the compass of one single Sheet,

SOME FARTHER  
REMARKS,  
PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,  
UPON  
PROPOSALS

Lately published for  
A New EDITION  
OF A  
GREEK and LATIN Testament,

BY  
*RICHARD BENTLEY,*

C O N T A I N I N G

A full Answer to the Editor's late Defence of his said PROPOSALS, as well as to all his Objections there made against my former REMARKS.

*Imperitiam tuam nemo potest fortius accusare, quam Tu ipse dum scribis. Hieron.*

—*Occupatus ille eruditione secularium literarum scripturas omnino sanctas ignoraverit; Et nemo possit, quamvis eloquens, de eo bene disputare, quod nesciat. Ibid.*

THE  
REMAINS

OF

THE

PROPOSALS

FOR

A NEW

AND

IMPROVED

OF

THE

PROPOSALS

FOR

A NEW

AND

IMPROVED

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## P R E F A C E.

**A**S soon as my Remarks were published, finding that I was threatened with an Answer, I began, one may imagine, to be in no small Pain for myself; especially when I recollected, that it was an old Trick with our good Christian Editor, to talk weakly often out of Design, [a] to dissemble his Strength, and keep his Arguments out of Sight, on purpose to draw some forward, wrangling Loggerhead into his Net, and so make a little Mirth and Sport with him for the Entertainment of the Learned. I could not help fancying, that I had swallowed the Bait, and was certainly caught in one of his Critical Traps; I began to reflect that his Proposals could hardly be so weak, as they appeared, without some Trick, some Design at the bottom; and that as shallow as I thought them, they might probably be found at last to be plena sensibus, \* full of deep, latent, recondite \* p. 22. Senses, such as my poor Capacity could not fathom; and that I was now to be made an Example of,

[a] Non rarò etiam data operâ brevior contractiorque fui, consultò viribus parcens, & quæ in promptu mihi erant, opes dissimulans; ut stolidi & ad depugnandum parati se in laqueos inopinantes induerent, risum jocumque nasutioribus daturi, Vid. Bentl. Not. in Horat.

*for a Warning to all future Nibblers at the Fame and Learning of this Great Man.*

*But his Answer no sooner appeared, than all my Fears were at an End; for I presently found, that I had put him past his joking, and that instead of diverting himself and his Brother Critics at my Expence, the Jest was much more likely to end upon himself: For tho' his Title promised us a full Answer to my Remarks, yet I observed, that he had passed over many material ones, without any Answer at all; and that where he had exerted all his Skill and Pains, his Reasoning was so evasive, so prevaricating, and so little to the Purpose, as to give me onely a farther Opportunity of demonstrating the two things I had undertaken, viz. his great Ignorance of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, and the main Points in Dispute; as well as his manifest Incapacity for the Work now upon his Hands; an Edition of the New Testament.*

*But what was the most surprizing in this extraordinary Piece of his, was to find it to be in Fact a most virulent and malicious Libel upon Dr. Colbatch, a Reverend and Learned Member of his College, on Pretence of his being the Author of the Remarks; tho' he could not possibly be ignorant long before his Book was published, that this worthy Gentleman was perfectly unconcerned in the Controversy; wholly out of the Question; and had not any Share or Part at all in advising*  
or

or assisting me on the Occasion. For I no sooner heard, that some of my Friends were suspected by him, but to prevent any Inconvenience which might befall such of them as were more immediately under his Power, I freely owned my self the sole Author, gave Commission to my Acquaintance to make no Secret of it any where; and was informed, at different times, by several of them, that they had assured some of his principal Friends and Confidants of the Truth and Certainty of it, to their own Knowledge. Dr. Colbatch on the other hand, did from the beginning (as he afterwards thought fit to declare by a printed Advertisement) constantly disclaim the Imputation in such a publick and open Manner, as must of Necessity come to the Knowledge of our Editor.

But tho' he knew very well the true Author, yet he was resolved to dissemble it, for the double Pleasure it would give him of abusing Dr. Colbatch, and shewing his Contempt of me. He has long made it his Business to represent me every where as a worthless insignificant Mortal; the Musical Conyers; † the Publisher of other † p. 11. Mens Labours. He began the Controversy in<sub>36.</sub> the College, by writing a most false and scandalous Libel upon me by Name, as well as all the other Fellows of the Society who were Petitioners against him to the late Bishop of Ely. And to have owned me for the Author of Remarks, which the World had received with Approbation, would have been little better than giving himself

## The P R E F A C E.

*the Lie ; to own, that I could produce any thing in the Way of Learning considerable enough to merit an Answer from him, was a Mortification too severe for him to submit to.*

*As to the Merit of his Performance ; nothing sure was ever contrived or conducted so injudiciously. He represents my Remarks \* as the Product of meer Spleen and Envy ; yet gives me the onely Satisfaction a splenetic Writer could wish, of seeing that they have stung him to the quick, and galled him most effectually. He would have them looked upon as trifling and contemptible ; † yet will needs have them written by a Person eminent and distinguished in the University for his Learning. His Business is to shew what singular Talents he has for an Editor of the New Testament ; yet he has convinced us by his manner of Writing, that he has never read with any effect, or studied with any Care the very Books he pretends to publish.*

*Some People have observed, that the onely Way of entering into the true Spirit and Sentiments of an Author, is to put our selves, in Imagination at least, into the very Circumstances he was in at the Time of his Writing. But our Editor is so far from accommodating himself to the Character and Condition of an Apostle ; so far from composing his Mind to that Charity, Meekness and Benevolence, which flows in every Expression of the Gospel, that he has been giving us a Specimen onely, how well*



*well he could imitate and publish Philippics ; and that the best Heathen Orator of them all is not to be compared with him, for the true Virulence and Rancour of his Invectives.*

*A Cause, supported with so much Passion and Scandal, will always be suspected by Men of Sense and Candour ; Reason and Truth could never raise such Tempests in the Breast, but give an easiness always and Complacency to the Mind ; 'tis the Consciousness of being in the wrong, and the Shame of being detected that ruffle and disorder it.*

*Ἀπορία λόγων ἐπὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν τρέπεται. Euseb.*

*'Tis, as Eusebius observes, pure want of Argument that sets him thus a railing ; 'tis the Rage of a foil'd and baffled Critic ; the Fury of an old Tyrant in Letters, to find, after a Reign of thirty Years, his Title at last disputed, and his Ignorance exposed.*

*I have avoided to take any Notice, in the following Remarks, of the wretched Scandal and Scurrility, which crowd his Pages to the Offence of all good Persons ; I could easily have forgiven any Turns of Wit or Raillery arising from the Subject, however severe upon me, or however awkwardly attempted by him ; but for the senseless, unpointed Ribaldry which every Paragraph of his is filled with ; 'tis enough for me to leave it to that universal Contempt, which I'm*  
*sensible*

## The P R E F A C E.

*sensible it has met with ; were I capable of returning it in kind, I could despise my self, I assure him, much more heartily than he does. But we may hope however to reap from it one Satisfaction, that it will probably oblige the worthy Gentleman so scandalously injured by it, to give the Publick some Account of his own and our Editor's Conduct in the present Differences of the College ; it is now in a manner become necessary for him to publish some Apology for himself, and not to suffer his Person and Character to be exposed to the World under such false and detestable Colours as our Editor has painted them in.*

*And lest I should again be the unhappy Instrument of drawing so much Trouble and Injury upon any other Friend of mine ; I have here set my Name to my present Performance, owning my self to be wholly answerable for every thing contained in it ; and being desirous to give our Editor all the Satisfaction I am able, am content to declare my self in as ample Manner and Form, as his own Lawyers had drawn up for me on another Occasion ; that I am the sole Collector, Composer and Author of every Part, Paragraph and Sentence in the following Book.*

*There's one thing which I find necessary to recommend to the Reader, before I close this Preface ; that is, to observe and distinguish the true State of the Question, between our Editor and my self, as far as relates to St. Jerom and the Order of Words.*

Words. *He lays much Stress every where upon the close Adherence of the old Latin Versions to the Order of Words of the Original; and many, I am sensible, for want of Attention, have been deceived by it into an Opinion of the Justness and Truth of his Reasoning, as if it were confirmed by Fact and Experiment. Whereas all this is really nothing at all to his Purpose, nor in any Manner affects the present Controversy; I have already allowed it in my former Remarks, and shall again observe in the following ones how most of our Prior Editors have long since taken notice of it, and made all the Use, that can be drawn from it in their several Editions. The single Point in Dispute as to this Case, is how far St. Jerom contributed to this Agreement in Words and Order of Words between the Latin and Greek of the New Testament. He maintains, that St. Jerom, believing the Order of Words to be mysterious, confined himself religiously to the Observance of it, in his Translations of Scripture, and consequently in his Castigation of the Old Vulgate, took care to adapt and reduce it, as much as he could, to this very Order. This is all that is new in his present Scheme; this he lays down as the sole Reason and Foundation of his intended Edition; and this is the onely Notion which I have endeavoured to expose; if I have succeeded in it, the Reader must own, that I have performed what I had undertaken, and have shewn this great Design of his to be at least very ill grounded, and rashly and injudiciously undertaken.*

*Left*

*Lest any one should think that I have been too severe, in my Reflections upon the Style and Language of our Editor, I thought it necessary to subjoin here a Specimen of it ; where I have taken no other Liberty with his Words, than that of collecting and ranging them into some kind of Order.*

*An English Cabbage-head, p. 37.*

*An Insect, a Worm, a Maggot, Book-Vermin ; the Venom of such Vermin, p. 10, 36.*

*The Animal ; a sharp-sighted Mole ; a gnawing Rat ; a snarling Dog ; a roaring Lion in Libya with long Ears, p. 11, 10, 18, 28, 11.*

*The Man with a thick Hide and solid Forehead ; Suffenus, Zoilus, Margites, Timon, Misanthrope, swartby Timon, hard-fac'd Timon, grinning Zoilus, of Intellect as dark as his Countenance, p. 13, 9, 25, 33, 22, 27, 30.*

*An ignorant Thief ; a Wretch of native Stupidity ; of low Talents and vicious Taste ; supercilious Pedant ; casuistick Drudge ; plodding Pupil of Escobar ; of superficial Learning and profound Ignorance ; a Fool labouring to be witty ; of Fog and Dulness ; of substantial Stupidity ; of Stupour and Insensibility beyond the famous Tom Coryat, p. 30, 25, 31, 42, 22, 29, 13, 37, 23, 33, 36.*

*A Mour-*



*A Mountebank of habitual Grimace, who for many Years has daily acted a Grimace ; aiming at aukward Ridicule ; with Eyes, Muscles and Shoulders wrought into a solemn Posture of Gravity, p. 43, 31, 10, 37, 10.*

*Of most tenacious and sordid Avarice, p. 38.*

*Lunatick Timon ; crazy-headed Censor ; in a dark Room ; under the Repute of Craziness and Madness, ; falling into raving Fits and sudden Extravagance under the Influence of the Moon ; a Scribbler out of the dark ; mad at the great Encouragement of the Proposals, he raged, stormed, and took his deadly Pen in Hand, p. 34, 10, 39, 32, 38, 24, 39.*

*Of Rancour and Malice implacable ; of Spleen and Envy a spiteful Examiner ; whose Life and Studies have been spent in libelling and defaming ; squabbling in the College to keep up his Spirits ; a Libeller of the Government ; guilty of Scandalum Magnatum ; old Conscience, good Affidavit-Man, yet left his Friend Conyers in peril of the Pillory ; broaching always mere Knavery, with a Preface about his Conscience ; a most impudent Liar ; a pious Calumniator ; ungrateful ; malignant ; virulent ; detestable, p. 43, 39, 31, 36, 39, 11, 14, 35, 10, 21, 29, 14.*

*Legion, extending his wide Jaws, and smiling horrible like Satan, p. 9. 40.* *And*

*And yet it is notorious to the whole University, that the Gentleman, whose Picture is here designed by our Editor, is as unlike and contrary to it in every Circumstance of his Character, as any Man living ; being a Person of a studious, retired and exemplary Life ; of a Virtue never reproached, except with too great a Severity ; and of singular Talents and Abilities to adorn the honourable Post, he now fills amongst us ; the Professorship of Casuistical Divinity.*

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 20, 1721.

**F**inding myself to be treated after a most barbarous manner in a virulent Libel, which bears the Title of Dr. Bentley's Proposals, with a full Answer, &c. upon Pretence of my being the Author of The Remarks upon the Proposals lately published by Richard Bentley, &c. I think it necessary upon several Accounts to declare as follows, viz.

*That I am not the Author of those Remarks, nor any part of them, and that they were undertaken and written without my Assistance or Knowledge.*

*That R. B. certainly knew, or easily might have known, that they were written by the Reverend and Learned Dr. MIDDLETON, who had own'd them to several of his Friends, by whose means he verily believes, that R. B. was inform'd that he alone was the Author. For my own part, presently after the Remarks were publish'd, I took all Occasions to declare as above, being oblig'd in Justice so to do, lest my Silence might in some measure contribute to deprive my worthy Friend of the Honour due for so excellent a Performance: nor do I question but that R. B. before he began to write his Libel, had been acquainted with what I said on those Occasions.*

*That those foul Aspersions, which are cast upon me in almost every Page, are as false in Fact, as they are apparently malicious; which is notorious to all who know me, and to none more than R. B. himself.*

*That I never wrote any Libels against the Government, the College, or the Master, as he falsely asserts.*

*I never wrote any thing at all relating to the Government, or publish'd any thing concerning the College, or the Master, except a Commemoration Sermon in Dec. 1717, which the Master pretended to approve of, giving it under his Hand that he would subscribe to every word of it. As to other matters relating to either, I have hitherto thought them fit only for the Cognizance of a Visitor.*

JOHN COLBATCH, D. D. Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Casuistical Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

C A M-

# CAMBRIDGE.

*At a Meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, Feb.  
27, 1720-21.*

**W** *Hereas the Reverend John Colbatch, D. D. and Casuistical Professor of this University, hath made Complaint to us of a Book lately published, annexed to Proposals for printing a new Edition of the Greek Testament &c. and call'd, A full Answer to all the Remarks of a late Pamphleteer, by a Member of Trinity College, subscribed J. E. wherein the said John Colbatch conceives himself to be highly injured, as being represented under the most reproachful and infamous Character, and hath therefore applied to us for Redress. We the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, whose Names are underwritten, having perused the said Book, do find that the said Dr. Colbatch had just Ground of Complaint, it appearing to us, that he is therein described under very odious and ignominious Characters, and do declare and pronounce the said Book to be a most virulent and scandalous Libel; highly injurious to the said Dr. Colbatch, contrary to good Manners, and a notorious Violation of the Statutes and Discipline of this University. And as soon as the Author of the said Libel can be discovered, we resolve to do Justice to the said Dr. Colbatch, by inflicting such Censure upon the Offender, as the Statutes of this University in that Case do appoint.*

Tho. Crossie, Vice-Chancellor.  
John Covell.  
C. Ashton.  
Bardsey Fisher.  
Edw. Lany.

R. Jenkin.  
Wm. Grig.  
D. Waterland.  
Wm. Savage.

SOME



SOME FARTHER  
REMARKS,  
PARAGRAPH by PARAGRAPH,  
UPON  
PROPOSALS, &c.

OUR Editor begins his *dismal Story*, by acquainting us, that *the Author of the Remarks, at the first publishing, might have been called Legion* \* ; this we must own to \* p. 9. be setting out like *an Editor of the New Testament*, with a *Scripture Simile* in his Mouth ; but how does he make it out ? Why, because *every one*, he says, *of the University that was thought to have Conceitedness and Malice enough to write it, was suspected to be the Author*. The Truth is, that he and his Friends did *me and my Remarks* the Honour to impute them to many Persons of *allowed Learning and Abilities* ; and tho' it soon appeared, that not *one of those*, they were pleased to suspect, had the least Hand or Share *in the Guilt*, yet the *very suspicion*, it seems, was enough to make them odious ; they were capable of doing it, and therefore *our Editor* hates them, and the Opportunity must not be lost of branding them here with the Characters of *conceited and malicious*.

But the Author's Party is discovered, he tells us, in his Title-page, where our Master is named plain Richard Bentley, without the Honour of his Degree\*. This indeed is a Charge which I cannot deny to be true; my very Title-page discovers that I belong to an University, which has deprived him of his Degrees; and might very justly have deprived me too, if I should pretend to bestow Titles, which she has thought fit to take away; but our Editor knows full well that he has no Right or Claim to the Stile of Doctor; and whenever he speaks or acts in his own Person, dare not so much as assume it himself; in the Title of his own Proposals, we have no more than *Edidit Richardus Bentleius*; and I, who am onely translating him, say, *published by Richard Bentley*; pray where's the Difference? In an Information drawn up and prosecuted by himself, for a late Pamphlet against him, the Charge is for vilifying the Reputation of one Richard Bentley; the calling himself Doctor, might, he knows, have been fatal to his Cause, and have endangered a *Nonfuit*; therefore, Good Master Richard, be not for once so ceremonious, nor stand so much upon Compliments with your old Friend Conyers†. But what is the most provoking to him is, that I will not allow him to have either Talents or Materials adequate to the Work he has undertaken; this I must declare to be my Opinion, and as I am well convinc'd of it my self, do not question,

tion, before I have done with him, but to convince the World of it too ; but if this be possible, what an unhappy Consequence does he necessarily fasten upon it ? For then, says he,  
*\* No body must any longer confide or be secure in his good Name ; a Worm, a Maggot can demolish it in a trice, and the highest Reputation in Letters acquired by repeated Proofs, for the space of above thirty Years, is in one Day to be blasted by an Insect.* p. 101

Here we see what it was that made him so confident, so secure of imposing upon the World, viz. *his high Reputation in Letters* ; this, he imagined, would have made us receive, with a slavish implicit Applause, whatever he had pleased to propound to us ; he did not doubt, but *his over-bearing Name* would oblige us to Charge rather upon *our own Ignorance*, than that of *so learned an Editor* ; or would have terrified us at least, from entering the Lists with *so renowned and formidable a Champion* ; it is this Assurance, we see, that a great part of his Reasoning chiefly turns upon ; *Have not I had the highest Reputation in Letters ? How then can I want Talents or Materials ? Has not my Life been spent in Critical Observations ? How then can a crazy-headed Censor* † *pretend to teach me Latin ?* † p. 101  
 This he reckons so conclusive, that it is the onely Answer he has given to the Charge of *Impropriety and false Latin*, which I had made to his *Title-page* ; but he is not the onely Man

I could name, who has acquired a Reputation in Learning much superior to his Merit, and has passed for a wondrous Critick in all the Languages, without being able to write any one of them with Taste or Correctness.

In the Close of his Introduction he charges me with having been the Publisher of several Libels written by Dr. Colbatch against the Master \*, the College, and the very Government; and yet I declare, that I never yet published any thing in my Life that was not strictly and entirely of my own composing, nor any thing at all, that ever related to, or reflected in any Manner upon the Government; I did indeed in a late Pamphlet represent the just Complaints of the Fellows of his College, (my old Friends and Fellow-Sufferers) against his oppressive Government; for which he is now prosecuting me by way of Information in the King's Bench; but tho' he flies to the Law himself, as an injur'd, libell'd Person, yet he makes no Scruple, we see, to libel me and others too as much as he pleases, and with a Modesty peculiar to himself pre-judges the very Cause now depending, and con-

\* p. 11. demns me even † to the Pillory.

And tho' he is pleased to reflect upon Dr. Colbatch, for having left me ‡ in the Lurch; I have yet the Satisfaction to assure him, that I am provided with such Affidavits both from the Doctor and several others, as will be sufficient, tho'

† ibid.



tho' not perhaps *to justify me to the Law* (which I did not at all understand, nor ever designed to offend) yet to justify me however to the World from the *least Suspicion* of my having done him any Injury.

Paragraph the First.

*The Author of this Edition, observing that the Printed Copies of the New Testament, both of the Original Greek and Antient vulgar Latin, were taken from Manuscripts of no great Antiquity, such as the first Editors could then procure; and that now by God's Providence there are MSS. in Europe, (accessible, tho' with great Charge) above a thousand Years old in both Languages; believes he may do good Service to common Christianity, if he publishes a New Edition of the Greek and Latin, not according to the recent and interpolated Copies, but as represented in the most antient and venerable MSS. in Greek and Roman Capital Letters,*

R E M A R K S.

I shall not trouble the Reader with a long Repetition of what I have offered in my *Remarks in Answer to this Paragraph*; it will be sufficient to inform him, that thinking it my Duty to vindicate in some Measure *the Authority of our printed Scripture*, so roundly struck at by our Editor, and to defend the Characters of

our former Editors, from the vile *Insinuations*, here thrown out upon them, I have shewn that several of them were Men of the *greatest Learning and Abilities* for a Work of this Nature, that all the *Countries of Christendom* could furnish; and that they had all the Assistance and Encouragement in the Execution of it, which the Power and Munificence of *Princes, Popes and Cardinals* could supply them with; that they were so far from taking up, or being content with *such Manuscripts as they happened to have at hand*, or had *pick'd up by chance*, or such as they could *easily and hastily get together*; that it was the Business and Labour of their Lives to search out every thing that was *curious and rare* in that Kind, or could be useful to their Purpose in any Part of the World; that we have Accounts of many Manuscripts procured for their Service with great *Difficulty and Expence* from *different Regions, distant Countries, remote Islands*; that in Fact, *several of the Manuscripts* they made use of, are allowed by all Judges to be as *antient and correct* as any now known in the World; that *their Editions* formed upon *these Manuscripts* have, ever since their Publication, been highly valued and esteemed by all Men of Sense and Learning, as generally *accurate and correct*, and by none more than *our Editor himself*, when he had no *private Views or Interests* to serve by decrying them.

And now, can any thing be a more full or  
direct

direct Answer than this? He assures us, *that the Manuscripts of our printed Copies of the New Testament are of no great Antiquity*; I have proved them to be of the greatest; he says, *that there are now MSS. in Europe, accessible, tho' with great Charge, above a thousand Years old*; and I have shewn, that *our Editors had actually Access to several of that Age*; and that no longer ago than fourteen Years, *all the Copies known and famous in Europe were collated for the Use of Dr. Mill*; he says, *that his MSS. are written in Greek and Roman Capital Letters*; a certain Characteristic of true Antiquity; and just so, say I, *are several of the Copies of every other Editor I have mentioned.*

This, I thought, was sufficient to prove the *Injustice and Barbarity* of his Treatment of all *former Editors*; Persons to whom the *Christian World* will always have the highest Obligation, and to whom no Man in it can be more particularly obliged *than himself*, if he is *sincere and in earnest* in the design of his Edition.

I shall proceed therefore to consider what he has to say in Justification of himself, *in this Answer of his*, which I am now examining; all which when laid together is *in Substance and Effect* just what follows, *viz.*

That let us say what we will of *our prior Editors*, they are not however to be named with

the mighty Bentley; the Men might be passable enough for the *Age they lived in*, but we must not think to compare them to the *enlightened Criticks* of these Times, to the *οἱ νῦν βροῦτοι*. For the World is now grown older and  
 \* P. 13. *wiser, \* has now advanc'd two whole Centuries in Age, since the Date of the Complutenian and Erasmus's Edition, and as much within thirty Years since that of Rob. Stephens, that they,*  
 † p. 26. *poor Men, † did not know how to use the very Manuscripts they had in their Hands; for Ste-*  
 ‡ p. 12. *phens was a meer ‡ Printer; Mill an ignorant*  
 § p. 18, *§ Blunderer; and for Cardinal Ximenes's Purse,*  
 26, 33. *|| what's that to our Master? Four Millions of*  
 || P. 15. *Crowns would not buy the MSS. that he has col-*  
*lated for his Edition.*

And as for the Manuscripts themselves, which they made use of, he tells us, *the plain*  
 \* p. 12. *Fact; \* that older and better are now to be had, than former Editors could come at; that in those*  
 † p. 13. *Days, † when no better were seen, they gave the Titles of Antient and Venerable to such as are now scarce reckon'd in the second or third Rate; that*  
 ‡ p. 33, *the best Editor of them all ‡ made use of such*  
 34. *scrubb MSS. such scoundril Copies, as our Master would scorn even to look into; and that therefore upon the whole, considering the great Abilities and Advantages he is possessed of, above all who went before him; we must be forced to own*  
 § p. 11. *that § he has expressed himself in the modestest, tenderest, and most innocent Words in the World,*  
*with-*



*without the smallest Reproach or Reflection upon the prior Editors.*

This is the Sum and Substance of our Master's Apology, and the Reader will excuse me, I dare say, from giving him or my self the Trouble of a *serious Answer* to it, or of adding any thing more to what I have said *so fully* on this occasion in my *Remarks*; however, since he insists still upon his Privilege, of trampling at pleasure upon the *great and learned Men* of all Ages, he must excuse me, if I examine likewise, with *no small Freedom*, what Right and Title he has to assume *such a Power* to himself, and what *Truth and Reality* there is in this Pretence of his to such *superior Talents and Materials*: But because the Consideration of his *Talents* may fall more properly under our Notice in some other Parts of *these Remarks*, I shall at present onely enquire into the *true state of his Materials*, his *older and better Manuscripts*, which he makes such a Noise about.

The first Account I have met with of *his Manuscripts* is in a *printed Letter* of his, upon the Subject of his Edition, dated *Trin. Coll. Jan. 1. 1716-17*, where we are informed by him, that he *makes use of no Manuscripts, but those of a thousand Years old, or above; of which sort he had got at that Time twenty together*

*in*

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals, in his Study, which made up, one with another, twenty thousand Years [a].*

Now before we go any farther, if he will but condescend to prove the Truth of this *single Fact*, and make it fairly appear to the World, that he ever was in Possession of *such a Number of Manuscripts at once*, and of *such Antiquity* as is here pretended, I promise to give up the Cause, and to own him as *accomplished an Editor as he pleases*: but I have seen so much of the History and present State of the *Manuscripts of the New Testament*, as to know it to be impossible for *any Man* or *any Library* to shew *so great a Number of such old ones*, at any one time in their Possession.

Mr. Martin of Utrecht, [b] speaking upon the Subject of *this very Letter*, says, that *our Editor is not a little indebted to his good Fortune for having found twenty Manuscripts well told, which are of a thousand Years ago, or above; it being one of the most extraordinary Discoveries in this kind of Literature, that has been made in our Days.* And in another Place, *The Point will be*, says he, *whether these Manuscripts lately discovered be really as old as Dr. Bentley takes*

[a] *Vid.* Two Letters to Dr. Bentley, and the Doctor's Answer, Lond. 1717.

[b] *Martin's Defence of his Dissertation in English*, p. 13. *it.* p. 16.

them to be ; for we are not ignorant how difficult it is, not to say impossible, to pass always in these Cases a certain Judgment and secure from all Doubt.

Monsieur Simon in his *Critical History of the New Testament* [a] gives us a pleasant Account of just such an Editor as this of ours, Father Amelote ; who, in the Preface of his French Translation of the New Testament, informs the World, that he made an exact Search for all the Manuscripts of Christendom, of above a thousand Years old, and had procured Collations of them all ; that he had got above twenty out of France ; all those of the Vatican, and the famous Libraries of Italy ; sixteen from Spain, without reckoning those of Cardinal Ximenes ; all those of England and the Northern Countries ; many from the heart of Greece ; with those that the Antient Fathers made use of.

One would imagine, says Monsieur Simon, upon reading this Passage, that this Father had at this Time in his Hands, all the Copies he speaks of, or at least the Collations of them ; yet all this long Discourse, says he, is but a mere flourish of Rhetorick, [a] to raise and ennoble the Subject he  
is

[a] Tom. i. p. 346.

[b] Mais tout ce long Discours n'est qu'une figure de Rhetorique, dont il se sert pour, &c. Il ne fit point d'autre reponse la dessus a son Confrere, qui luy montra

[Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals, is treating of; for being advised by a Friend (who shewed him at the same time all his various Readings in Print) to leave out of his Preface, this strange Rant about his Manuscripts, he made no other Answer, than that the Argument he was handling, made it necessary for him to express himself, after a noble sublime manner, to make the stronger Impression upon the Minds of his Readers.

And having Occasion to mention this same Editor again in another Place, [a] he tells us, that the great Number of Manuscripts of twelve and thirteen hundred Years, which he pretended to have collected, existed onely in his Imagination, and that he could not be sincere, because he had not produced one single various Reading, which had not been known and printed before in other Editions.

The Case is just the same with our English Amelote, for when we come a little closer to him, the twenty old Manuscripts, which he has just  
 \* p. 13. before given us an Account of, shrink at once \*.

en meme tems ces diverses leçons imprimees, si non que la matiere, dont il parloit, demandoit qu'il s'expliquât d'une maniere noble, pour faire plus d'impression dans l'esprit, &c. *ibid.*

[a] Tom. 2. p. 370. Ce grand nombre de MSS. qu'il assure avoir douze & treize cens ans, n'ont ete que dans son imagination.

Il ne nous a donne aucunes diversités de leçon, qui ne fussent déjà imprimees. *ibid.*

into



into Eight; and follow him still a little farther, and he is forced again to own, that even of these eight, there are only four, which † had † p. 14. not been collated and made use of by Dr. Mill.

And now we are come to a full Discovery of the whole Strength of our Editor, viz. four Manuscripts; these are all the Forces he is Master of, to maintain the War he has declared against all former Editors; with these four it is, that he has promised to work such Wonders; to produce the very Testament read at the Council [a] of Nice, and even to go a Century higher and retrieve the very Exemplar of Origen.

The whole Number of Greek Manuscripts of the Old and New Testament, now known in Europe, amounts, as 'tis supposed, [b] to about four hundred; and there's hardly one amongst them all, which has not been collated and made use of in some or other of our printed Editions; and yet by our Master's blustering one would imagine the Case to be just the Reverse between him and the former Editors; and that all of them together had never seen more than his four; whilst he was in Possession of their four hundred.

Dr. Kuster by a very diligent Search found out twelve Manuscripts, which had escaped Dr.

[a] Vid. the two printed Letters. &c.

[b] Vid. Le Long Bibliotheca sacra. Paris.

Mill's

*Mill's Enquiry* ; and tho' he was willing enough to make *the best Penny* he could of them, yet all he could do, was to publish again *Dr. Mill's Testament in Holland*, with the *Additional Readings* he had gather'd ; and he thought, I dare say, that he had disposed of them to good Advantage.

But our Editor with no more than his *four Copies*, will be content with nothing less than a *new Original Edition of his own*, and such an one too, as is to make all others whatsoever *useless and contemptible* ; he ought however, methinks, to oblige his *Subscribers* with a *more particular and satisfactory Account of the four Manuscripts* he pretends to ; whether, *tho' never used by Dr. Mill*, they were not still *collated by Dr. Kuster* ; whether *any one of them*, or *all together*, make out *the whole New Testament* : 'Tis a great Rarity to find any one of *Value* which contains *above a*

\* p. 34. *Part of it*, and our Editor tells us himself, \* *that there are very few good ones, nay not so much as*

† p. 42. *one of any* † *Antiquity, besides the Alexandrine, which comprehends the whole* ; so that whenever he thinks fit to answer *these Queries*, his *little Stock* will probably *once more* be reduced to *half*, nay, he will be left, I am almost confident, with nothing more than *some piece onely of the New Testament in Manuscript*.

But his *Copies*, I know, are like the *Sybil's Books*, while we *lessen* their Number, we still  
enhance

*enhance their Value; and if we leave him but one, he will soon make it as valuable as all the rest; leave him, I say, but one, to set his Foot upon, and like another Archimedes, he will shake the Christian World.*

And thus we have seen a fair Account and true History of *his Manuscripts*; how from *twenty*, they dwindled to *eight*; from *eight* to *four*; from *four* to——And is not this *Father Amelote* all over? and must not Envy itself confess, that *our Editor's Imagination* is full as lively; his *Rhetorick* as strong as that of his *Reverend Brother*.

But he thinks it, we find, wondrous hard, that *Dr. Mill should so oft be cast in his Teeth* \*, \* p. 41, and that he should be charged with reflecting 14. upon a Person whom he had not so much as named in his *Proposals*: What just and critical Reasoning is this? He has not abused *Dr. Mill* in his *Proposals*, nor *Dr. Colbatch*, I warrant ye, in *this his Defence* of them, because he has not mentioned so much as the *Name of either*. But is not the *Doctor's Edition* included in the general *Censure*, he has passed upon all, without Exception or Reserve? Nay, is it not particularly levelled at and described, by that; which gives such Offence to good † Persons, that, whose † par. 3. Pages are crowded with such Numbers of various Readings? However, he is very confident, that there can be no Comparison between the *Doctor's Work*

\* p. 14. *Work and his*, they being different toto genere from each other \*, the Doctor's Ambition reached no higher than to give the *Text of Printer*, Stephens; but he resolves to present the World with *that of the famous Origen*; the Doctor's View was no more than to provide a *Promptuary for the Judicious*; but it is he who must apply this Promptuary to Use and Practice. Thus the *one* is but a mere *Collater*; the other the *Critic*; the *one* furnishes *Tools*, but the *other* must find the *Use* of them.

But we need not wonder at his taking so much Liberty with *the Dead*, when 'tis common with him to make full as *free with the Living*; even Sir *Isaac Newton* himself; whose great and admirable Discoveries in *Mathematicks* and *Natural Philosophy* were; according to him, but *useless, empty Speculations*, of no Benefit or Service to Mankind; till he was pleased, as he has told us in Print, [a] to *discover to the World the unknown Use of them*, and to apply them, as he designs to do with Dr. *Mill's* Promptuary, to the silencing of *Atheists*.

+ p. 14. We have brought him, however, to speak, with somewhat *more Modesty* than before, of his *intended Edition*; for he condescends † to own, that he will do Dr. *Mill* the Honour to make use of *his Collection*; and because his main Ob-

[a] Vid. Dr. Bentley's Letter to the Bishop of Ely.



jection to the *Doctor's Edition* seems now to be chiefly from the *Form and Manner* of it, from the *Management and Disposition of the Materials*, I shall endeavour to set the Matter in such a Light, as will make it easie for the Reader to determine the Controversy ; in order to which I shall desire him to answer me two or three plain Questions.

Whether all the *various Readings* of the *New Testament* are not rather *curious and nice* Observations, than Discoveries of any *real Service to Christianity* ; and useful rather to the *Learned*, than the *Christian Reader* ? Whether all of them together *affect* or *alter* in any Manner any *Article of Faith*, or even *Moral Precept* ? Whether in *Stephens's Edition* we have not the *full and adequate* Sense of the *sacred Text* in all Points even of the *least Importance* ? Whether a correct and just Translation of *that Edition* would not be sufficient for the People to all *Intents and Purposes of Religion* ?

If *these Queries* be answered in the *Affirmative*, as I am certain they must, and as *he himself has already done* ; I shall take the Liberty to assert and maintain that Dr. *Mill's Edition* (as it exhibits *Stephens's Text*, with all the known *various Readings* under it) is for the very *Form and Manner* of it more *usefully and judiciously* contrived for the Service of the *Learned* or even *Chri-*

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,*  
*stian World, than any other which our Editor*  
*can pretend to give us.*

Is it not the same thing to the Reader, considered as a *Scholar*, whether he finds the *true Readings* with *their Authorities* at the *Top* or *Bottom* of the *Page*? inserted in the *Text*, or placed in the *Margin*? Cannot he assert and apply them with the same *Force* in all *Critical Controversies*? Is not *the Text* made as *clear* and *certain* by them, in the one way as the other?

Dr. *Mill* believed, that [a] he had mended *Stephens's Text* in *two thousand* Places; he believed likewise, that he had *retrieved most of the true Readings of the Old Vulgate, with the very Greek from whence they were taken*; yet he never imagined, that his *Emendations* would lose any of their *Force* or *Merit* by being placed with his *Notes* at the *Bottom of the Page*: He knew, that however *probable any Readings* might appear to him, they were not however *demonstrable*, and what *one Man* might look upon to be *Genuine*, another would still argue to be *Spurious*; and that the making so many *Alterations in the Text* would give *Offence* to many, do *Service* to none, and occasion onely *perpetual Disputes* about *Trifles*.

[a] *Vid. Mill, Prolegom. it. vid. p. 41.*

Thus

Thus for instance, if Dr. *Mill* had inserted his two *thousand Alterations* into the *Text*, we shall find presently that *our Editor* was actually prepared and resolved to have *fetch'd them down*\* \* P. 33. again, and restored them to the *Place* from whence they were taken; and what would have been the Consequence? Why, *his own Emendations*, when advanced in their stead, would have found no better Fate; for as little as I pretend to *Criticism*, I would undertake to *throw out* a great Part of them my self, as we shall see by and by, when we come to *his Specimen*; and thus after much Squabble and Wrangling, we should find our selves at last just where we first set out, settling again perhaps in the old *Text of Stephens*.

But Dr. *Mill*, he tells us, † *follows this same*† P. 14. *Text of Stephens to a Letter*, even where he *decides against it*; what, *decide for and against it* at the same time? This, he thought, must needs make the Reader exclaim at the *Doctor's great Stupidity*; and yet the case is no more than this: The *Doctor's Design* in his Edition was to exhibit *Stephens's very Text* most punctually, without *any the least Variation* from it; to this he subjoins all the *various Readings*, with some *Critical Notes* occasionally giving us his Judgment upon the *said Text*. In many Places, it seems, he *decides against it*; but how then does he *follow it at the same time*? Or how is it possi-

ble to do *both* in the same instance? So that this *Jumble of Words*, designed as a Reflection on the Doctor, proves to be a meer *Piece of Jargon*, and *Nonsense* of our *Editor's* own.

I am far from believing Dr. *Mill* to have been infallible, or *his Edition* without *Faults*; being persuaded, that no Man in the World ever yet executed a Design *so laborious and extensive* without committing *many*; but as they bear no Proportion to the *just Merit* of his Performance, they may and ought to be forgiven. If the Doctor indeed, in his *large Prolegomena*, had given as many *solid Proofs of Ignorance*, as our *Editor* in the *Half-sheet of his Proposals*; or if, in any *whole Book of the New Testament*, he had made as *many Blunders*, and suffered as *much Incorrection*, as our *Editor* has in the *single Chapter of his Specimen*, I am satisfied, that Men of Letters would never have endured *his Edition*.

Since I have had Occasion to say so much here of Dr. *Mill*, it may be proper to bring together, under *one View*, whatever relates to him in the present Controversy; and to take notice once for all of the *scurrilous* and *inhuman* Treatment which *our Editor* has thought fit to shew to his *worthy deceased Friend*.

He had formerly much *courted* and *caressed* *this Gentleman*, and for the *Credit of his Friendship*



*Ship and his Countenance, had paid him very extraordinary Compliments in his Life-time: In a printed Letter to him, he says, [a] That he was the most experienc'd of all Men living in the Knowledge and Study of Manuscripts; that in collecting Materials for his Edition, he had nicely and curiously examined all the Writings of the Fathers, all the antient Versions, and an infinite Number of Manuscripts; that his Edition would be an Ornament to his Country, and a Safeguard to the Church; and that whoever purchased it might fancy himself in a manner turning over and reading the very Originals; nay, since his Death, before he had any particular Interest in undervaluing him, he has done him the Justice to speak of him in much the same strain, and declared [b] that his Friendship and Memory would ever be dear to him.*

Yet now there is hardly a Paragraph in this Book of his, without some *spiteful, severe Re-*

[a] Tu vero, Milli doctissime, qui omnium mortalium maxime in eo studio versatus es.

Quippè etenim ad eam copiam comparandum omnia S. Patrum scripta, omnes antiquas versiones, & infinitam vim Codd. MSS. curiosè excussisti. Ea res Britannicæ nostræ splendori erit & Ecclesiæ præsidio.

Adeo ut qui tuam Editionem sibi comparaverit, ipsa illa propemodum Archetypa ve sare manibus, atque oculis usurpare videatur. Vid. Jo. Malalæ Hist. per Jo. Millium, una cum Epist. Rich. Bentleyi.

[b] Remarks on Freethink, part 1. p. 61.

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,*  
*fection upon his Merit and Character ; but in*  
*his thirty-third Page he labours more especially*  
*to overthrow all his Credit, with three particular*  
*Instances of his great Weakness and want of*  
*Judgment.*

The first is from *the Use he makes of scrub Manuscripts and scoundrel Copies ; for having described a Manuscript, says he, to be, not Vellum, but Paper, and of a recent Hand, yet this worthy one has eleven of his true Readings ; and so he deals with the rest.*

But let us here ask *our Editor*, whether *all Criticks* are not agreed, that *recent Manuscripts* are not to be neglected in a Work of this Nature, and that they may sometimes afford *probable or genuine Readings* which have not been met with before, as well as give farther Light and Confirmation to those that have. This he himself has declared to be true in Fact as *to the Manuscripts of Terence ; the oldest and best Copy of him, says he, [a] is now in the Vatican Library, which comes nearest to the Poet's own Hand, but even that has hundreds of Errors, most of which may be mended out of other Exemplars, which are otherwise more recent, and of inferior Value.*

It is very possible, and certainly true in some

[a] Ibid. p. 64.

Instances,

Instances, that *Manuscripts of Modern Date* may have been copied from others very *antient and correct*, which have afterwards been lost; the Doctor's Design led him to examine *all the Manuscripts* he could come at, both *Old and New*, he gave their *due Weight and Preference* to the *older and better*, and has in Fact collected the *Readings* of all the most *antient and valuable ones* then known in the World. How silly is then the Objection that out of *two thousand Readings* which he preferred to the common ones, he has pick'd *eleven out of a recent Manuscript*? It can deserve onely to be laughed at, and discovers much more the *Malice of our Editor*, than any *Ignorance in the Doctor*.

The other *two Instances* of the *Doctor's want of Judgment* I shall give likewise in *his own Words*: He has, says he, *† two Characteristics to judge by (as any one that will peruse his Prolegomena will see) Omissions and Solecisms. If a Word or Words are omitted in any Copies, out they must go, as Interpolations; these make fifteen hundred at least out of his two thousand. And what is very extraordinary, the more Significancy, the more Importance the omitted Words have, the more confident he is, that they are spurious and interpolated; and for this specious Reason, Quis sanus tam insigne verbum omiserit, præterierit, expunxerit? What Copyist in his Wits would leave out so considerable a Word, if he found it in the Exemplar that he transcribed? One may say, Quis sanus*

fanus could argue at this Rate? Is a Word so conducing to the Clearness, Grace, and Beauty of the Sentence (as the Doct̃or often allows) and confirm'd by the oldest Copies and Versions to be cast out of the Text, because one drunken or drowsy Stationer's Boy happened to omit it? God forbid; and yet this is his perpetual Manner. The other is Solecism, which decides the Remainder of his Genuine Readings: If in a few, or in one Manuscript, there's a Reading that makes an ἀνακόλῃ-  
 Dov, an Absurdity, a Barbarism, he seldom fails to warrant it for true. In short, in his Scheme, whatever appears bright and elegant, (if one Copy does but fail in it) is an Emendation of some Copyist: whatever appears impolite, idiotic, absurd, (if the most scoundrel Copy countenances it) is manus Apostoli.

This is the Charge which he has brought against Dr. Mill; and if we allow for the Extravagance, the Partiality and the false Colours with which it is drawn, every Body will easily see, that the Doct̃or is much in the right, and that his Notions, tho' capable of being strained and carried too far, are in general just and true; and these very Rules, tho' like all others, not without Exception, are certainly good and proper to be observed by an Editor of the New Testament.

Let us consider then the first of these Characteristics; and since our Editor has not thought  
 fit



fit to try the Merit of it by any *particular* Instances or Examples of *false Readings*, which have been put upon us by it, we can onely consider it *abstractedly* and in *general*, without taking in the Circumstances of *older* or *better Manuscripts* on one side or the other. Suppose then that *some Copies* exhibit a Word of *great Significancy*, to clear and determine the Sense of a Passage, otherwise *dark* and *obscure*; and that *other Copies* are still found to be without *this Word*; the Question is, how we are to determine the *genuine Reading*? Dr. Mill says, that the *Word* is *spurious*, and does not belong to the *Text*; our Editor affirms the contrary, and reasons thus; *Is a Word so conducing to the Clearness, Grace and Beauty of the Sentence (as the Doctor often allows) to be cast out of the Text, because a drunken, drowzy Stationer's Boy happen'd to omit it? God forbid.*

But will not this Reasoning serve to defend almost *all Interpolations* whatsoever? And yet is it not allowed, that there are a great many of them in the Scriptures, and that they are much more numerous than the *Omissions*? Our Editor says, that in *the Chapter* of his *Specimen*, he has made *fifty-two Emendations*; that is, he has taken *fifty-two various Readings* from the Bottom of Dr. Mill's Page, and removed them into the *Text*; yet of these *fifty-two Alterations*, a great Part are made according to *this very Rule of Omissions*, several of them supported by the Authority

thority onely of a single Manuscript; for Example, Καθαρόν ποταμόν, ver. 1.] *omittunt καθαρόν, Alex. Codd. Anglici duo Gallici tres, &c.* Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ Αλφα, ver. 13.] *omittunt εἰμὶ, Alex. Athanasius Codd. fere omnes; Andreas, Arethas. Sed Origines habet εἰμὶ bis.* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ver. 21.] *omittit Alex.* And again in the same Verse, Μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν Ἀμὴν] *omittit ἡμῶν Ἀμὴν Alex.* He has already, we know, determined against the Genuineness of the famous passage of St. John 1 Epist. v. 7. a Reading, by far the most important of all the thirty thousand; supported by good Authorities, and consonant and agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apostle: For what Reason then has he condemned it as spurious? Why because some Manuscripts and some Fathers have omitted it. And this sure is carrying the Rule of Omissions much farther than

† p. 42. Dr. Mill himself, tho' it was, he tells us, † *his peculiar Foible*: For the Doctor happens here to be on the other side of the Question, and in this Instance has declared, even against his favourite Rule, for the common Reading of our printed Copies.

And now will not his own Argument turn much more forcibly against himself? Are Words so significant, so important, so conducing to the Clearness and Beauty of the Sentence to be cast out of the Text, because a drunken or drowsy Stationer's Boy happened to omit them? God forbid; and yet this is his perpetual Manner.

But

But let us now hear a little on the other hand, what *the Doctor* has to alledge in defence of his *Rule*. Why he says, that it is more probable, that a *Transcriber* would chuse rather to clear up an *obscure Passage*, by the insertion of an *explanatory, significant Word*, than to *darken and confound a clear one*, by *omitting or expunging such a Word*; and he would defend himself by shewing, that it is in the *perplexed and dubious Passages of Scripture*, that *Interpolations* are generally found; that *most Interpolations of the Text* were derived originally from the *Margin*, where it was usual to place *Words or Sentences of plain and obvious Sense*, to explain such as were *more difficult in the Text*; that these by degrees crept into *the Text itself*; the *Transcribers* thinking they did no harm, by making it more intelligible; and that this was the common Practice of the Copyers of *St. Jerom's Days*, who says, [a] *that they were used to write, not what they found, but what they understood*; and that this is not *meer Conjecture or Speculation*, but what all, who are conversant in *Manuscripts*, will find confirmed and demonstrated by *Fact and Experiment*; and this I take to be a sufficient Justification in general of *Dr. Mill's first Rule of Criticism*, viz. that of *Omissions*.

[a] *Librariorumque incuriæ, qui scribunt non quod inveniunt, sed quod intelligunt; & dum alienos errores emendare nituntur, ostendunt suos, Hier. ad Lucin. Tom. 4. p. 578.*

Let

Let us now proceed to examine *the second*; which *our Editor* calls *that of Solecism*; and here he thinks he has done the *Doctor's Business*; has painted him *to the Life*, and has said enough to make him justly *odious* to all good *Christians*. What is the *Style of Scripture* so *base, vulgar, idiotic, so full of Barbarisms, Solecisms, and Absurdities*, as *Dr. Mill* pretends? *God forbid*. Nothing sure but what is *bright, elegant and polite, could come from the Hand of an Apostle*. Here we see *two contrary Judgments* passed upon the *Style and Language of the sacred Penmen*, by *Dr. Mill*, and *our Editor*; and the Reader by determining which of them is the *true one*, may in some Measure decide at the same time the *main Point* in Question, about *our Editor's Talents* for the Work he has undertaken, and how far he is qualified to give us an *Edition of the New Testament*.

*St. Paul* tells us, *that he was sent by Christ to preach the Gospel*, [a] *not with Wisdom of Words*; nor with *Excellency of Speech*; nor with *enticing Words of Man's Wisdom*: And lest *our Editor* should say, that these disabling Expressions are but *Strains of Humility*, usual with and becoming *the Apostle*; his Friend *St. Jerom* has told us [b]

[a] 1 Cor. i. 17. ii. 1, 4.

[b] Nequaquam Paulum de humilitate, sed de conscientiae veritate dixisse, etiam nunc approbamus. Hier. ad Algas.



quite the contrary; *that it was not any Humility in St. Paul, but a Conscientiousness of the Truth, which drew from him these Declarations; and he shews [a] it to have been with the Apostles, in this Case, just as with all other Men, and that they discover in their Writings the Idioms and Phrases peculiar to their native Country and Language: He warns us often [b] not to be offended at the Simplicity or Lowness of the Scripture-Style; for he tells us, [c] that the want of Elegance in the Words of the sacred Writers was sufficiently made up by the forcible Eloquence of their Sanctity, and the Loftiness of their Thoughts and Sentiments.*

The *Antient Greek Fathers*, who are certainly the best Judges of the *Greek Style* of the *Scriptures*, are intirely of the *same Opinion*. The *first Christian Critick*, *Origen*, makes no Scruple to declare his Judgment on this Occasion with as much Freedom, and in much the same Terms with *Dr. Mill himself*. The *Disciples of Christ*, says he, [d] *renounced all artful Composition of*

[a] Multa sunt verba, quibus juxta morem urbis & provinciæ suæ familiariùs Apostolus utitur—Nec hoc miremur in Apostolo, si utatur ejus linguæ consuetudine, in qua natus est & nutritus. Ibid.

[b] Nolo offendaris in scripturis sanctis simplicitate & quasi vilitate verborum, &c. Hier. Epist. 2. ad Paulum.

[c] Loquendi simplicitatem excusabat sanctimonix magnitudo. Hier. ad Pamæn. de opt.

[d] Οἱ τῷ Ἰησοῦ μαθηταὶ οἱ μακρὰν χαίρειν εἰπόντες τῇ ποιικίᾳ τῶν λέξεων συνῴσκει καὶ τῇ ὡς ἀνόμασεν ἡ γραφή, σοφία ἀνθρώπων. Orig. contr. Cels.

*Words,*

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals, Words, and what the Scripture calls the Wisdom of Men : And Divine Providence accommodated [a] the Language of Scripture, not to the Learned among the Greeks, but to the Idiotism of the Multitude. And again, [b] the Apostles, being conscious of their Imperfection this Way, called themselves Idiots in Speech, but not in Knowledge.*

St. Chrysostom still goes farther, and speaks more freely upon this Subject ; *When the Greeks, says he, [c] accuse the Disciples (as Idiots) that is, illiterate, let us join with them, and accuse them on this account more freely even than they ; and he laughs at the [d] Simplicity of a zealous Christian; who, in a Dispute with a Greek, laboured to prove St. Paul to be more eloquent than Plato ; and lest we should make our selves ridiculous in such Disputes, he bids us [e] freely own the Apostles to*

[a] "Οὕτως ἡ προνοημένη θεία φύσις ἐ τῶν πεπαιδευθαι νομιζομένων μόνον τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἑλλήνων, συγκαλίσθη τῇ ιδιωλείᾳ τῷ πλήθους. Ibid.

[b] "Οὐκ ἀσυναίσθητοι οἱ ἀπόστολοι τυγχάνουσι τῶν ἐν οἷς προσκόπῃσι, φασὶν ιδιώται εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ἐ τῇ γνώσει. Orig. Philoc. c. 4.

[c] "Οἶα ἔν Ἑλλήνες κατηγορήσασσι τῶν μαθητῶν ὡς ἰδιωτῶν, πλείον ἡμεῖς ἐκείνων κατηγοροῦμεν αὐτῶν. Chrys. Hom. 3. in 1 Cor. 1.

[d] περὶ Παύλου καὶ Πλάτου ζήτησεως ἔσης, ὁ δὲ χριστιανὸς ὑπ' ἀφελείας ἐσπέδαξε κατασκευάζειν ὅτι Πλάτων λογιώτερος ἦν ὁ Παῦλος. Ibid.

[e] Ἴν' ἔν μὴ καταγελάμεθα, κατηγοροῦμεν ἀποστόλων ὡς ἁμαρτῶν, ἡ γὰρ κατηγορία αὐτὴ ἐγκώμιον. Ibid.

*be ignorant and unlearned, such an Accusation being not any Reflection upon them, but their Praise and Glory.*

After these Authorities, I need not trouble myself with producing any Opinions of the *Moderns*; but whenever our *Editor* thinks fit to dispute this Point more fully or particularly, I will undertake to defend the Judgment of *these Fathers* and Dr. *Mill* by undeniable Instances, and shew the *Style of Scripture* to be so little agreeable to the *Purity of the Greek Language*, that whenever the *Doctor's Solecisms, Hebraisms, or Idiotic Phrases* stand in Competition for a Place in the *Text*, with our *Editor's bright, elegant, polite Expressions*; every judicious Reader will think it wisest and safest to agree with the *Doctor*, in giving a general Preference to the former.

After all this *Scurrility and Contempt* thrown out so plentifully upon the *Doctor*, he comes off very calmly and smoothly at last, by charging me with being the Occasion of it; declaring, \* that \* p. 34. *I made it necessary for him, against his own Inclination, to deal so freely with the Doctor*, which is such a *Reflection* upon me, as I cannot help clearing my self of, before I dismiss this Subject.

I have always had a very great Honour and Respect for Dr. *Mill's Memory*, and was so far from

from designing to force *our Editor* to use him ill, that I was taking all the Pains I could, to make it *necessary* for him to *commend him*. I put him in mind of the *old Friendship and Intimacy* that had been *between them*; and did not this make it *necessary* to *commend him* when *dead*, whom he had professed *such a Love and Value* for when *living*? I shew'd how much he must needs be obliged to him *in the Work*, he had undertaken; and did not this make it *necessary* to own the Obligation, and *commend his Benefactor*? I shew'd *the Doctor* to be a most *industrious, learned and judicious Editor of the New Testament*; and did not this make it *necessary* for a *Scholar, a Christian, a Clergyman* to *commend him*? How then could I make it *necessary* to treat him *scurrilously* in any other possible Sense, than as it is *necessary* for an *envious Critick* to *rail* at all who are *commended*; for a *proud Man* to *insult* those whom he is *most obliged* to; for a *Mercenary Writer* to *undervalue* every thing, that stands in the Way of his *Gain and his Interest*?

### Paragraph the Second.

*The Author, revolving in his Mind some Passages of St. Hierom; where he declares, that (without making a New Version) he adjusted and reform'd the whole Latin Vulgate to the best Greek Exemplars, that is, to those of the famous Origen; and another Passage, where he says, that a Verbal or Literal Interpretation out of Greek into*  
Latin



Latin is not necessary, Except in the Holy Scriptures, *Ubi ipse verborum ordo mysterium est*, Where the very Order of the Words is a Mystery; took thence the Hint, that if the Oldest Copies of the Original Greek and Hierom's Latin were examin'd and compared together, perhaps they would be still found to agree both in Words and Order of Words. And upon making the Essay, he has succeeded in his Conjecture, beyond his Expectation or even his Hopes.

## REMARKS.

In my Remarks on this Paragraph, I had observed, that of the two Passages produced here from St. Jerom, as the Reason and Foundation of this intended Edition, the first was not to be found in any Part of that Father's Writings, in direct and express Terms, and that the second had been altered and misrepresented by our Editor, to make it more applicable and full to his Purpose. In Answer to my first Observation, he has by a Number of Citations, and a Dissertation upon the Word *Evangelia*, \* (proving what every body \* p. 17. knew before) shewn at last that he did not at all apprehend the Question I proposed to him. I said that St. Jerom had not in any one single Passage, as he would make us believe, asserted, that he reformed the whole Latin Vulgate: and now how does he shew the contrary? Why, by labouring to prove, consequentially and by Inference from scatter'd Passages, what I denied one-

- ly to be found *directly in any single one* ; and yet all that he has collected amounts to no more than what I have already owned ; that St. *Jerom reformed* \* the *Latin Vulgate of the New Testament* ; but there was likewise a *Vulgate Translation of the Old Testament* as well as the *New*, and the *whole Latin Vulgate*, which he talks of, must needs be understood to comprehend *them both*. He might therefore full as well have been contented with my *having al-*
- \* p. 16. *lowed him*, as he says, † all that he wanted or expected ; rather than to have usher'd in the most *important* Argument of the Controversy, with an Introduction so little to the purpose ; but he will not, it seems, accept any Concession from so *silly an Adversary* ; for when I thought to have pleas'd him, by owning, that St. *Jerom* had reformed the *Vulgate Latin* according to the *best Greek Copies* of his Time ; he proves,
- † p. 17. that they were not the *best Copies of his Time*, ‡ but *old ones*, and consequently *before his Time* ; as if the *best* at any time were not always the *oldest* then known ; this, to use a *Phrase of his own*, is such *capital, transcendent Reasoning*, as I must own my self at a loss how to answer.

- But he will needs force me into a Conspiracy
- § p. 18. with Dr. *Mill in order to abuse* § poor St. *Jerom*, because I have said of him, that he made no *very great Alteration* in his *Reform of the Vulgate* ; and yet I said no more than what I proved from *his own Words*. But if this be a
- Reflection,

Reflection, what will he say to me, if I undertake to shew, that of *the Alterations*, which he actually made, *some* might much better have been spared ; the *old Translation* being *juster* and *truer* in several Places than *his Corrections* ?

But after all this Noise about the *old Vulgate*, or, as many have called it, *the Italick Version*; the World, it seems, is yet entirely in the dark about it ; for when *our Master's Edition* comes out, it will shew that there *never was any such Version in Being*, as the \* *Learned*, and Dr. Mill espe- \* p. 18,  
cially, have so long been *blundering about* ; and † p. 26.  
that the Notion was *falsly grounded upon an* † p. 43.  
*abused and mistaken Passage of St. Austin* ; which our Editor will set in a *true and new Light* : But we must not expect so great a Discovery in haste ; for till he has made all the Use he can of *St. Jerom's reforming the old Vulgate*, it will hardly be worth while to prove that there never was *any old Vulgate at all* ; but for all the *new and true Light* he has got in this Matter, I will promise to shew whenever he calls upon me, that among those *innumerable Versions*, he speaks of, which † appeared in *the Western World*, † p. 26.  
before *St. Jerom's Time*, there was however a *particular and principal one*, distinguished from the rest by *its Use and Credit in the Church*, under the Name of the *Old, the Common, the Vulgato*, or, as *he himself* [a] has called it, the

[a] Rem. of Freethink. p. 81.

*Italic.* He may now perhaps be out of humour *with some* one of these Names, and dispute, if he pleases, *about Words*, but I defie him to prove, that there was not such a *particular Version*, as I have here described.

We are now come once more to the Examination of his *second Passage*, viz. *Ubi ipse verborum ordo Mysterium est*, on which he says, I  
 • p. 18. have *sweated and laboured* \* *so hard in my Remarks, for three whole Pages together*; but he gives me however the Pleasure of finding, that it was not *Labour in vain*; since my *three Pages* have cost him above *twice the Number to contrive an Answer* to them. My *first Remark* here was, that he had not *dealt fairly* either with *us or St. Jerom*, in his *Quotation* of this Sentence; which I found in the *Words of the Author* to be thus: *Ubi & verborum ordo & Mysterium est*. In a *Passage of such Moment*, on which so much Stress was laid, and so great a Design was built, the World had a Right to expect the *utmost Exactness of Citation*, and the *very Words of the Original*. There can be no other Reason for *misquoting any Author*, but either *too much Art*, or *too much Negligence*; either of which will make but a wretched Apology for an *Editor of the New Testament*; where *Diligence and Fidelity* are Qualifications of such absolute Necessity. A Critick who can allow himself in *such Emendations* as these may well despise an Adversary who † never made one in his Life; for he  
 † p. 19. is



is sure enough to have an Advantage over him : But *as our Editor* has always been very notable at an Excuse, from the great Use and Exercise of his Invention that Way ; he is pleased here to give us *two Reasons* for this Inaccuracy, *viz. great Haste and Candle-light* \*.\* p. 19. *The Proposals*, it seems, *were drawn up in such a Hurry*, and the Publication of them required *such Dispatch*, that he had not so much Time as even to *consult his Books, or correct the Press* ; but being forced to *trust his Memory* for the *Citation*, chanced to make *the little slip* we complain of. But is it not strange, that after having been *revolving and tumbling* about in his Mind *one poor Sentence* for above *four Years* together, *his Memory* should happen to fail him just in *the Nick*, when he came to the *very Use and Application* of what he had *so long* been thinking of ? but is it not still stranger, that after having been writing and talking *so long*, with such *Calmness* and *Deliberation* on this Subject, he should be on a sudden in *such a Hurry* about it, as if no Time, but *one critical Moment*, could possibly serve for the *printing his Proposals* ? He, *good Man*, was all *on fire* and *impatient* to do this publick Service to his Country, and had made a *Vow* perhaps never to *close his Eyes* till he had made some Progress in so *pious a Design* ; but the World happens to know him too well, to be so easily imposed upon ; if *his Motives* had been really such as he pretends, there could not have been any Occasion for an

Excuse of this Kind: A *true Reverence for Christianity, a Zeal for the Interests of Religion,* would necessarily have forbid *all haste*; would not have suffered the *least Hurry*; would have obliged him to the *utmost Caution*, in a Work so *serious and important*. He here plainly discovers what I hinted at in *my Remarks*, that *his Proposals were hastened out to serve quite different Ends*, than *those of common Christianity*. It was necessary for his Circumstances, that *some Noise* should be made in the World *in his Favour*; something must needs be done to support a *declining Character*; something *great and popular* must, in Appearance at least, be undertaken, to recover *Esteem and Applause* to himself, and cast an *Odium and Contempt* upon *his Prosecutors*; and withal perhaps to demolish me the more effectually for having *libell'd a Person* so highly deserving of the Publick; so greatly and usefully employed in the *Service of Christendom*.

As for his *Candle-light*; I am not subtle enough to find out what Use he can possibly make of it. Among *the Greeks and Romans* it was so far from being an *Excuse for the Blunders, or Inaccuracy of a Composition*, that to *smell of the Lamp or Candle* was their *common Phrase*, to express an *over-laboured, affected Correctness*; but our *Critick's Lucubrations* are the *Reverse*, we see, to those of all other Authors; and his *ill-fated Lamp*, like some malignant Planet, spreads *Drowziness, Oscitancy, and Stupour* around it.

*Pinguem nebulam vomuere. lucernæ, Juv.*

The best Answer I can give him, is to return upon him *his own Words*, \* *That no Scribler even* \* p. 24. *out of the dark ever committed such Stuff to Paper.*

But this, he will say perhaps, was proposed chiefly as an *Excuse* for the *false Pointing, Accenting*, and other small Mistakes of his *Specimen*; and should we allow it, yet even this will not much mend the Matter; for *Blunders*, like *Sins*, are some of *Ignorance*, and some of *Omission*; and tho' *Haste* or *Candle-light* may in some Measure *excuse the latter*; yet both together cannot in any Manner apologize for the *former*; it is not for *Points* and *Accents* left out, or *little Omissions in his Notes*, that we complain of *his Specimen*; but that all the *Rules of Accents* are directly *violated* by a *contrary Application* of them; and there are such *Solecisms* and *Barbarisms of Style*, as are offensive to every Reader; and these will appear just the same *what Light soever* we write or read them by; *Errors of Judgment* having no more Relation to *Candle-light*, than those of the *Memory*.

But should this serve even as an *Excuse* for the *first Edition of his Proposals*, yet how is it at all applicable *to his second*? Was this likewise drawn up in *such haste*, and prepared by *Candle-*

light? Yet it was in all Points just the very same with the other, except in the Change of one of his *Emendations*, by restoring [ἐπ' αὐτὸν] to the Text [v. 18.] which he had thrown out before, upon the Credit of a *single Manuscript*. In his *third Edition* indeed, upon the Notice I had taken of his *many Blunders*, he has thought fit to alter his *Style*, and to change the *many Barbarisms* of his *Notes*, into a Language more regular and intelligible, viz. instead of his *deest Alex. cæteri ferè omnes*: [v. 15.] *deest Articulus ò Alex. alii multi*: [ibid.] *deest Alex. Codd. ferè omnes*: *ordine ut Andreas*: [v. 13.] he has now put *omittunt Codices*, or *deest in Codicibus*; and *ordine quo Andreas*.

But the Reader will think it high time for me to come to the *Point in Question*, an Examination of this *Passage of St. Jerom.* As for our *Editor's Emendation of it*, \* (which I'll assure him was not new to me) it has no manner of Influence in the Dispute, since I allowed him, as he owns, even before I had seen it, all that he pretends to infer from it. The whole Sentence runs thus: *Sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Græcorum, (absque scripturis sanctis, Ubi & verborum ordo & Mystrium est) non verbum è verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.* Our Editor from this *Passage* maintains, that St. Jerom, in reforming the *Vulgate of the New Testament*, confined himself strictly and religiously to the *Order of Words in the Greek*, believing it to be *mysterious*. In



In a *printed Letter* [a] of his, which I have before-mentioned, he gives us this Account; *About a Year ago, says he, reflecting upon some Passages of St. Jerom, that he had adjusted and fastigated the then Latin Vulgate, to the best Greek Exemplars, and had kept the very Order of the Words of the Original; I formed a Thought a priori, that if St. Jerom's true Latin Exemplar could be come at, it would be found to agree exactly with the Greek Text of the same Age; and so the old Copies of each Language, if so agreeing, would give mutual Proof, and even Demonstration to each other. In this second Paragraph of his Proposals, he tells us much the same Story, that if the Old Greek Copies and St. Jerom's Latin were compared, they would be found to agree, not onely in Words, but in Order of Words. This again he now calls \* a new and a noble Thought, \** p. 20. which must of Necessity be true, because St. Jerom, he says, *durst not have used this Expression, if he had not kept close to the Order of Words in his own Edition of the Scriptures. But when he came to make his Essay, † then it was, †* *ibid.* that he reaped most glorious Fruits of his Sagacity, and his Labour; the Success, he tells us, *not onely exceeded his Expectation, but even his Hopes; nay, he was even amazed, surprized, and astonished; at what, do you think? why to find that the Learned Father had spoke true. But does*

[a] Vid. Two Letters to Dr. Bentley, with the Doctor's Answer.

not

not this shew what an Opinion he had of his *Thought a priori*, as well as of the good Father, when it was Matter of *such Astonishment* to him to find *any truth in either* of them? and yet after all, whenever he can shew that St. *Jerom* has affirmed the *perpetual Order of Words in Scripture to be a Mystery*; every Body else will see, that the *Learned Father did not speak true*.

But how at last was the *great Experiment* made? and this Truth so clearly demonstrated?

\* p. 25. Why, the *Matter of Fact*, he says, \* *verifies it*; for there are four or five very old Manuscripts extant, with the Greek on one hand, and a Latin Version on the other; in all which, *Line answers to Line, and Word to Word in Order*. These are *Beza's Manuscripts at Cambridge*, containing the Gospels and Acts; another in the *Royal Library at Paris*, which is reckoned generally the *second Part* of it, containing the *Epistles of St. Paul*; a third of the *same Epistles*, with the *Benedictines of St. Germain*; a fourth of the *Acts* now at *Oxford*. These with the *Alexandrine* are allowed by all to be the *most antient Manuscripts*, now known in the World; nay, our *Editor himself* has told us, in his *Letter* already mentioned to Dr. Mill [b], that they vastly exceeded,

[b] Atque hæc quidem talia Exemplaria, cum aliis omnibus ubivis gentium, quod sciamus, longè longèque & dignitate & tempore antecedant, neque quidqua mihodie supersit simile aut secundum. Vid. Rich. Bentleii Epist. ad Jo. Millium, ut supra.

both

*both in Worth and Antiquity, all others whatsoever, in any Part of the World, and that there was nothing extant at this Day, either like or second to them; yet every one of these have been used and collated not onely by Dr. Mill, but by other Editors before him; tho' now it seems to serve a present Purpose; we are to be amused with an idle Story of much older and better Manuscripts to be come at than prior Editors were acquainted with. It must however without doubt give him much Comfort and Satisfaction to find these good old Copies tally so exactly together, and confirm his noble Thought so effectually; but I have an unlucky Secret to let the Reader into, which will soon put an End to his Raptures: For the Latin of these Manuscripts happens not to be that of St. Jerom, but that of the old Vulgate, as it stood before his Reformation of it, which continued still in the Use of the Church for two Centuries after he had made his Corrections.*

And this is not onely the Opinion of Dr. Mill [a], which *our Editor* has in so much Contempt, but of *all the best Judges*, and particularly Monsieur Simon, who [b] has made

[a] Qualis incedebat ante Castigationem Hieronymi (nam & ex his extat hodiè unum & alterum in Galliis, penes Monachos Benedictinos; hujusmodi est Bezæ Cantab. Claromont. & Actorum Apost. Bodl. ut alia mittam) &c. Vid. Mill. Prolegom. p. 14.

[b] Simon Hist. Critique de N. T. p. 358. v. 1.

it

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,*  
it very clear and evident by undeniable Arguments.

Thus *our Editor*, we see, has been taking Pains to *astonish* himself to very little Purpose; for he might have proved his Point full as well from *the Coptic*, as *the Latin of these very Manuscripts*. If *St. Jerom's Latin*, says he, *† could be come at*, it would be found *to agree minutely with the Greek*; yet when he comes to the Proof, he makes the Experiment with *Latin which was not St. Jerom's*, nor ever at all touched by him.

But again, what *Greek* is this, that *tallies* so exactly with *this old Latin of his*? Why no other neither than *that of these same Manuscripts*; but the Learned likewise are agreed, that these were not taken from the *good old Copies*, by which *St. Jerom reformed the Vulgate*; but were *those very corrupt ones*, which *the Father so much complains of*; and were transcribed originally by *some of the Latin Church*, who had but little Skill or Knowledge of the *Greek*.

Having thus shewn what little Reason he has to be proud of *the Success* of his Experiment, I shall now proceed to enquire into *the Notion it self*; and prove *his new and noble Thought a priori*, to be *absurd, ill-grounded*, and not at all *adequate or useful* to the Design he has built upon it: In order to which I have already observ-  
ed



ed that it is directly *contrary* to the whole Reasoning and Tenor of *the Epistle*, from whence it is taken; and that in all the other Places of *St. Jerom's Writings*, wherever *this Epistle* is referred to, or wherever he treats of the *Manner of Translating*; he shews his Opinion to be quite *opposite* to it, and that in his *Versions of the Scripture*, he followed *the Sense* with *no strict Regard to the Words or Order of Words*: so that upon the whole, I find it necessary to understand and explain *the Passage in Dispute*, in a *qualified and limited Sense*; as signifying nothing more, than that *St. Jerom in translating Scripture, did not altogether take so much Liberty in departing from the Words, as in his Translations of other Greek Books, because he believed, that in a few particular Places of the Old Testament the Order of Words might possibly be mysterious.*

This I will shew to be the *true Sense and meaning of St. Jerom*, by the only proper Method of coming at *the Sense* of any Passage, *viz. by a nice Examination of the Context*, as well as all the other Parts of his *Writings*, which touch upon the Subject. The Account I gave of this in my Remarks is as follows, *viz. The whole Subject of this Epistle to Pammachius is the Defence of a Translation he had made (not verbally, but according to the Sense) of a Greek Letter sent from one Bishop to another; where besides alledging the Practice of profane Authors, he shews, that the best interpreters, even of Scripture, had no Regard*

in

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals, in their Translations, to the Words, or Order of Words, but to the Sense onely ; which he proves by several Instances from the Septuagint, the Evangelists, the Apostles, the Vulgate Edition itself, and the Fathers.*

But here *our Editor* stops me short, and tells  
 † p. 21. me flatly that *I lie most impudently ; † for having read, says he, that short Tract over on purpose, I assure you there is not one Word in it of best Interpreters, or Latin Vulgate, or Fathers.*

Quid ais, O Columna Literarum, & nostrorum temporum Aristarche ? Hier.

Not *one Word* in it, say you, of *best Interpreters, or Latin Vulgate, or Fathers ?* But if there be not the *very Word*, you will allow me, I hope, that there is *the very thing* ; which is much more to my Purpose ; and I shall not wonder at your catching so much *at Words*, where there is nothing else to lay hold of. As for the *Vulgate Version* [a], we find it twice said in express Terms, *the Vulgate Edition has it so and so.* This *our Editor* will say, is meant onely of *the Septuagint*, which St. Jerom calls here by that Name ; tho' others will tell him that it is applicable, not to *the Original*, but to the *common Latin Translation of it.* But be this as it

[a] Vulgata quippè Editio ita se habet ; hoc exemplum in vulgatâ Editione sic fertur.

will ;

will; he makes mention likewise of the *Latin Translators* and *our Translation*, which certainly comes up to *the thing*.

And as for *Fathers*; after he has alledged the Practice of *profane Authors* in Defence of his Way of translating; when he comes to take notice of *Ecclesiastical Writers* or *Fathers*, he says thus [a]: *The time would fail me if I should reckon up all who have interpreted according to the Sense; it is enough, for the present, to Name Hilary the Confessor, who, in the Homilies on Job, and the Treatises upon the Psalms, which he translated into Latin, did not sit nodding over the Letter, nor tormented himself with the nauseous Interpretation of the Rustic; but by the Right as it were of a Conqueror, carried the Sense away captive into his own Language; nor is this strange, continues he, in profane or ecclesiastical Writers, when the seventy Interpreters, the Evangelists and Apostles do the very same also in the Holy Scriptures.* Here we see, that tho' the very

[a] Dies me deficient, si omnium, qui ad sensum interpretati sunt, testimonia replicavero; sufficit in præsentî nominasse Hilarium confessorem, qui Homilias in Job, & in Psalmos, tractatus plurimos in Latinum vertit è Græco, nec assedit literæ dormitanti; & putidâ rusticorum interpretatione se torfit; sed quasi captivos sensus in suam linguam victoris jure transposuit. Nec hoc mirum in cæteris sæculi videlicet aut Ecclesiæ viris, quum septuaginta Interpretes, & Evangelistæ atque Apostoli idem in sacris voluminibus fecerint.

Term,

Term, *best Interpreters*, be not mentioned, yet *the Epistle* is full of little else but Citations from such as *all the Christian World* must allow to be the *best Interpreters* that ever were; of which I shall now give a few, out of the many Instances here produced.

One of the first which St. *Jerom* takes notice of is from *Matt. xxix. 9.* where *the Evangelist* gives us the Citation of a *dark Prophecy*, fulfilled in *our Saviour*; and if the *Order of Words were a Mystery*, we might surely expect to find it observed here, in a Passage *so mystical* relating to the *Sufferings of the Messiah*; but instead of this, when St. *Jerom* has produced the Words of St. *Matthew*; *this Passage*, says he, [a], *is taken from Zachariah [xi. 12, 13.] But it is found there in Words and Order of Words intirely different*: And after having produced the Words of the *Septuagint*, he says, [b], *It is very clear what a Difference there is between the Evangelist and the Septuagint; but if we go still to the Hebrew, though the Sense be the same, the Words are different, as well as the Order of them.* And after having given his Translation like-

[a] Hoc invenitur in Zachariah, sed aliis multo verbis, ac toto ordine discrepante.

[b] Quantum distet ab Evangelistæ testimonio Septuaginta Translatio, perspicuum est; sed & in Hebræo quum sensus idem sit, verba præpostera sunt & pæne diversa.



wife of the *Hebrew*, he concludes [a], *Let them accuse the Apostle of Falshood, because he agrees neither to the Hebrew nor the Seventy; but far be it from us to say this of a Follower of Christ, whose Care it was, not to lie upon the Catch for Words and Syllables, but to give the true Sense and Meaning of Doctrines.*

Another Instance is from *St. John's Gospel* [xix. 37.] of a Citation likewise of a *Prophecy* of our *Saviour's Suffering* from *Zacharia* [xii. 10.] and after having produced the Words of *St. John*, the *Septuagint* and *Latin Translation*, *St. Jerom* [b] says, *You see the Difference between the Translation of the Evengelist, the Septuagint, and our own; and yet for all this Disagreement in Words, they agree in Unity of Sense.*

Upon another Instance of the same Kind, of a *Citation in Matthew* [i. 22, 23.] taken from *Isaiab* [vii. 14.] you see, says he [c], *what a*

[a] Accusent Apostolum falsitatis, quod nec cum Hebraico, nec cum Septuaginta congruat Translatoribus; sed absit hoc de Pedissequo Christi dicere, cui curæ fuit non verba & syllabas aucupari, sed sententias dogmatum ponere.

[b] Discrepat Evangelistæ, Septuaginta Interpretum, nostraque Translatio & tamen Sermonum varietas spiritûs Unitate concordat.

[c] Quanta sit inter Mattheum & Septuaginta verborum, ordinisque discordia, sic magis admiraberis, si Hebraicum videas.

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals, great Discord there is in Words and Order of Words between St. Matthew and the Septuagint ; but you will have Occasion to wonder still more, if you consult the Hebrew.*

It would be too tedious to produce *all the Instances* he has brought from St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul to the same Purpose as these already taken notice of ; and yet in *such Passages* as these, which are of the *greatest Importance*, and contain a *mystical Sense and Application to the Messiah*, we must needs have found, I say, if any where, the *Truth and Certainty of our Editor's Notion*.

St. Jerom concludes his Reasoning here by saying [a], that *it is evident by all the Instances above-cited, that the Evangelists and Apostles, in their Interpretation of the old Scriptures, regarded the Sense onely, and not the Words, and were not solicitous about the Words or Order of Words, if they could but make the Sense intelligible.*

And now I would ask any Man of common Understanding, whether it is *conceivable or possible*, that St. Jerom could believe the *general Order of Words to be mysterious*, when he is la-

[a] Ex quibus universis perspicuum est, Apostolos & Evangelistas in interpretatione veterum scripturarum, sensum quæsisse non verba ; nec magnopere de ordine sermonibusque curasse, dum intellectui res pateret.

bouring with so much Pains to shew, that the *Septuagint*, the *Evangelists*, and the *Apostles*, did not at all regard it; when he is writing an *Apology* for *them* and *himself*, for the *Neglect* of it; when he is *exposing his Adversaries* for not allowing him to do in a private *Epistle*, what they must, he says [a], *whether they will or no, allow the others to have done in the Holy Scriptures*. I may defie any Man alive to believe such an Absurdity, except our *Editor* and such *Creatures* of his, who can believe any thing but their *Master's Fallibility*.

This is an *exact* and *faithful* Account of the *Epistle to Pammachius*; which I have been the more particular in, to shew the Truth of the *short Abstract* I had given of it in my *Remarks*; which our *Editor* calls *dull and false*, and for that Reason undertakes to give a *more clear and honest one*; which he begins thus; \* *St. Jerom had*\* p. 20. *translated into Latin a complaining Letter of Epiphanius to Chrysostom, both his own contemporaries, and was charged by some Friends to the latter, that he had not done Justice in his Version, nor translated the Words exactly, but warped them, as they thought, to Chrysostom's Prejudice.*

[a] Ut reprehensores meos arguam imperitiæ, & impetrem ab iis veniam, ut concedant mihi in simplici epistola, quod in scripturis sanctis, velint nolint, Apostolis concessuri sunt. Epist. ad Pam.

Could any Man who pretends to give a *true* and *exact* Relation of Fact, ever have set out so unhappily? For this *Letter of Epiphanius's* was not written to *Chrysostom*, as he tells us, so *formally* and *circumstantially*, but to *John Bishop of Jerusalem*; and the Blunder is the *more* unlucky for him, as it demonstrably discovers a very great Ignorance of *St. Jerom's Writings*; where the Controversy between *Epiphanius* and *Bishop John*, and the Part *this Father* acted in it, are so largely and frequently insisted on. There is among *St. Jerom's Epistles* this very *Translation of Epiphanius's Letter*. *Jerom* sided with *Epiphanius*, and was *excommunicated by John*; and besides a frequent mention of the Case in *many of his Epistles*, he has left a very long *Treatise* in his Works, in which all the Errors of *this Bishop* are collected and exposed: yet *this is the Man* who pretends to such *Familiarity with St. Jerom*; who insults so often my Ignorance and little Acquaintance with him; yet I can tell him, with a great deal of Truth, that he has not produced *one single Passage* from him, which I had not seen and considered, and knew to be nothing to his Purpose, long before he had taken such Pains to convince us of it.

But I know what *our Critick* will have to say to all this, in his *next Answer*; he will tell us, that we may read *what Stuff* we please in our *vulgar interpolated Editions*, but that his *antient*  
*Manu-*



*Manuscripts* tell him quite another Story; and *Johannes Hierosolymitanus* was put corruptly by some drunken drowsy Stationer's Boy, for *Johannes Constantinopolitanus*. This is the Advantage which *Great Criticks* have over such *poor Mortals* as never made an *Emendation*, of which we shall have more Occasion to take Notice by and by.

In the rest of *our Editor's* Account of *this Epistle*, there is no great Difference between us, except in *the Lie* he gives me about the *best Interpreters*, the *Vulgate Edition*, and *Fathers*. What Reason or Pretence he had for it, I must leave to the Reader, who will, I dare say, give me the *only Satisfaction* I desire, by shewing a *just Contempt* and *Detestation* of such *brutish* and *infamous Scurrility*.

As for *the other Passages of St. Jerom*, I had said in *my Remarks*, that I could produce *twenty*, to confirm the Truth of what I have advanced on this Subject. Here *our Editor* once more gives me *the Lie* †; but if it were not too impertinent and tedious to the Reader, I would undertake to shew him *twice the Number*; of which I shall give *only such a Specimen* at present, as will be sufficient for my Purpose. † p. 21.

In his *Commentaries on Isaiah*, he tells us [a],

B b 3

that

[a] In multis testimoniis quæ Evangelistæ vel Apostoli  
de

*that it is to be attended to very nicely, that in the many Citations which the Evangelists and Apostles brought from the old Scriptures, they did not follow the Order of Words, but the Sense onely.*

In the *same Book*, he says [*b*], *that St. Paul in his Epistle to the Corinthians fetch'd Authorities from the Original Scriptures, not translating Word for Word (which kind of Interpretation he perfectly despised) but expressing the Truth of the Sense to confirm what he was proving.*

In his *Commentaries on Amos* he goes a step farther, and tells us [*c*], *that not onely the Apostles, but the Apostolical Writers, in citing and translating Texts of the old Scriptures, never regarded the Words but the Sense onely.* There are, I believe, near *twenty Places in St. Jerom*, where this very *Observation* is repeated; and it is generally introduced with some particular Hint or Monition [*d*]; that it is to *be ob-*  
de libris veteribus assumerunt, curiosius attendendum est, non eos verborum ordinem sequutos esse sed sensum, Comm. in Isa. c. 5.

[*b*] Assumit Apostolus Paulus de authenticis libris, in Epistolâ quam scribit ad Corinthios: non verbum ex verbo reddens (quod facere omninò contemnit) sed sensum exprimens veritatem, quibus utitur, &c. cap. 64.

[*c*] Apostolos & Apostolicos viros, in ponendis testimoniis de veteri Testamento, non verba considerare sed sensum. cap. 5.

[*d*] Curiosius attendendum; diligentius observandum; non solum in præsentî loco, sed ubicunque Ep. ad Alg.

*served*

served nicely, attended to diligently, and not onely in the Case mentioned, but every where. In his Commentaries on Galatians, he says [a], we are not to imagine that the Gospel consists in the Words of Scripture, but in the Sense. In his Comment on the Epistle to Titus, he says [b], I follow rather the Sense than the Words of Scripture. In his Preface to Job; this Translation of mine, says he [c], will sometimes follow the Words, sometimes onely the Sense, and sometimes both. In his Letter to Sunnia and Fretela [d] this Rule of translating is to be followed, which I have often laid down, that where there is no Hurt to the Sense, we should observe the Propriety of the Language into which we translate.

In the same Epistle, he says [e], if we should translate Word for Word, we fall into a false and erroneous Affectation, and our Translation becomes absurd. And again [f], while we follow this

[a] Nec putemus in verbis scripturarum esse Evangelium, sed in sensu c. 1.

[b] Magis scripturarum sensum quam verba sectamur.

[c] Hæc autem Translatio nunc verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque resonabit.

[d] Eadem igitur interpretandi sequenda est regula, quam sæpè diximus; ut ubi non sit damnum in sensu, linguæ in quam transferimus, proprietas conservetur.

[e] Quòd si transferre voluerimus ad verbum in κακοζήλιαν interpretationis incurrimus, & fit absurda Translatio.

[f] Et dum interpretationis κακοζήλιαν sequimur, omnem decorem translationis amittimus.

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals, false and erroneous Affectation of interpreting, we lose all the Beauty of the Translation.*

In a *Letter to St. Austin*, he says [a], *this is my Rule, that where there is no Change in the Sense, I may preserve in my Translation the Purity and Elegance of the Latin Tongue.* And he tells us expressly, in his *Letter to Pammachius*, that this cannot be done *by translating according to the Words or Order of Words* : For how many things, says he [b], *are elegant in Greek, which, if rendred Word for Word, are flat in Latin?* And, on the contrary, *what pleases us in Latin, if translated according to the Order of Words, would be offensive to them in the Greek.*

\* p. 22. In Answer to all this our Editor shews, \* from a Passage of St. Hilary, that the *Latin Translators of the Old Testament were nice and curious in observing of the Words and Order of Words*; yet he should have taken notice withal, that *Hilary is condemning them for it at the same time.* But we may observe here again, by the way, an Instance of his *singular Modesty.* 'Tis affirmed, he says, † *by the Fathers*, that the old

[a] Et nos hoc sequimur, ut ubi nulla est de sensu mutatio, Latini sermonis elegantiam conservemus.

[b] Cujus rei exemplum ex nostro sermone capere possumus. Quanta enim apud Græcos bene dicuntur, quæ, si ad verbum transferamus, in Latino non resonant; & è regione, quæ apud nos placent, si vertantur juxta ordinem apud illos displicebunt.

*Latin.*



*Latin Versions stuck close to the Order of Words*, and produces for it this Passage of *Hilary*; yet when I said a little before, that *Jerom* had given Instances from the Fathers for his Way of translating, which I grounded upon a Citation likewise from this same *Hilary*; he tells me, † *I lie*, and that there is *not one Word* † p. 21. *of the Fathers* in all that Epistle. However, what *Hilary* says here may easily be allowed him, and yet is nothing at all to his Purpose; for it is *these very Translators*, that *St. Jerom* is so severe upon in every Part of his Writings: 'Tis this very Manner of translating which he calls over and over again *κακοζηλία*, a false and *absurd Affectation*, and *putrida interpretatio*; a *nauseous Translation*. He says frequently [a], that *Aquila was a Translator of this kind, rendering Word for Word*; and tho' for this he was much admired by the *Jews*, yet he tells us [b], that for the very same Reason, he was justly slighted and thrown aside by *Christians*; and calls him a *troublesome, contentious Translator, for sticking so closely to Words, Syllables and Letters*.

[a] De Aquila autem non miror, quod eruditissimus linguæ Hebraicæ & verbum de verbo exprimens, &c. Comm. in Isai.

[b] Aquila autem contentiosus interpres, qui non solum verba, sed etymologias quoque verborum transferre conatus est, jure projicitur a nobis—ille *κακοζήλως* & syllabas interpretatur & literas. Ep. ad Pamm.

with

And now from these Authorities, together with what I have collected *in my Remarks*, we have a full and clear View of the Controversy between *our Editor* and *my self*; about our *different Expositions of this Passage of St. Jerom.* The Reader, I am satisfied, cannot help observing, that *my Explication* of it makes the *Learned Father* speak *rationally, intelligibly, and consistently with himself*; while *our Editor's Notion* charges *Nonsense, Absurdity, and endless Contradictions upon him.*

But I am still to give an Account why I confine *this Notion of St. Jerom's to the Old Testament* onely. This I take to be intimated *in one Expression* of this very Passage, *viz. Me in interpretatione Græcorum absque Scripturis sanctis, &c.* *In my translating the Greek of the Scriptures*, says *St. Jerom*, *I did so and so.* Now it is allowed that he made *no Translation at all of the Greek of the New Testament*, but *in the Old translated the Greek of the Septuagint*, as he tells us himself in several Places, particularly, *in a Letter to St. Austin*, speaking of the *Old Testament*, he has the very expression *ibi Græca transtulimus*; *there I translated the Greek*; whereas *in the New*, he onely made some Corrections in the *common Latin Version* of his Time. The Words [*Scripturis sanctis*] are applied by him likewise in *this Epistle to the Old Testament* onely, as in a Passage already cited, *Quod in Scripturis sanctis velint,*

*velint, nolint Apostolis concessuri sunt.* But his own Reasoning is sufficient to prove that this Notion must be restrained to the old Scriptures: For in the *Old Testament*, he says, \* *that all Origen's Allegories referred to the New*; \* p. 30. *but in the New he could refer to nothing, but either common Notions, or visionary Schemes of his own.* This was still confirmed to me by what I have observed, that the *Jewish Writers*, and such as are infected with their Notions, are full of idle Whims about Mysteries in the Order of Words of the *Old Testament*. And St. *Jerom* himself, after he had learnt *Hebrew*, might probably be a little touch'd with *these kind of Fancies*; but *no one Writer*, that I know of, has affirmed, that *the Order of Words in the New Testament is mysterious.*

But here *our Editor* takes me severely to task; and will shew me, † *that there is more in the Fa-* † p. 21. *thers*, than I must pretend to be acquainted with; and to expose my Ignorance the more, nothing will serve him, but a *Passage from St. Jerom himself*, whom I have been turning over with so much Care; who tells us [a] in *his Commentaries on the Ephesians*, that in the *Greek of the Scriptures*, the *Words, Syllables, Tittles, and Points are full of Senses.* The Reader, I dare

[a] Sed quia ita habetur in Græco, & singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices, puncta, in divinis scripturis plena sunt sensibus, c. 3.

say, must at first be a good deal surprized to find *our Editor* proving the *Order of Words* to be a *Mystery*, by such a Passage as this, where there is not so much as a *Word*, *Syllable*, *Tittle* or *Point* that relates at all either to *Order of Words*, or *Mystery*. But let us have a little Patience, and he will soon make it out to a Miracle; for he has got an *Argument* called *Parity of Reason*, which will prove to a Demonstration, that *Syllables*, *Tittles*, *Points*, must signify *Order of Words*; and *full of Senses*, imply *Mystery*. And now being sure of Victory, he begins already to insult, with *what says our Censor now? Are not Syllables, Tittles, Points, as small things as the Order of Words? And must not, full of Senses, mean deep, latent, recondite Senses? And is not this as strong an Expression as Mystery?* Many of his Creatures, I know, would bless themselves here with Astonishment at *their Master's great Sagacity*. What ingenious, what critical, what profound Reasoning is this? How clear is it now *our Master* has found it out; and yet no Man could have found it out but himself? But it happens a little unluckily, that St. Jerom seems to have disclaimed all this Nonsense, which *our Editor* would fasten upon him: For in an *Epistle to Algasia*, he says [a], *It is not in the Power of Language to express deep, latent, recondite Senses*; much less can *Tittles* and *Points*

[a] Profundos enim & reconditos sensus lingua non explicat.



do it. But in order to set this Matter in a clear Light, let us take a Review of the whole Passage: St. Jerom in his Commentaries on Ephesians, iii. 6. translates συγκληρονόμα σύσσωμα, συμμέτοχα, by *coheredes, concorporales, & participes*, and says, *that he knows these Words make but an awkward Figure in Latin; but because it is so in the Greek, and that in the Holy Scriptures Syllables (or the Apposition of such Conjunctions) as well as the Points and Tittles have their Significations; magis volumus in compositione structurâque verborum quàm intelligentiâ periclitari*; which our Critic translates thus, *viz. We chuse rather to forego (that is, to let alone or not meddle with) the Structure of the Words, than to weaken the Meaning; whereas the Sense is just contrary, viz. we chuse to venture upon coining and compounding Words, which are not strictly Latin, rather than to run any Hazard in the Sense.*

And now what is there in all this, which has the least View or Tendency to our Author's Argument? What is there here said of the New Testament, which may not be applied also in some Measure to every other Greek Book? And who besides himself would say, that the Compounding of Words by Prepositions, and the Points and Tittles in Greek are as insignificant as the Order of Words? A thing, in it self indifferent, which may be varied and transposed without the least Variation of the Sense. Sure never  
any

any Authority was produced so *impertinently* as this ; and I defie him to shew, that even *his own Freethinkers* ever interpreted any Citation more *blunderingly*, or applied it more *aukwardly*. But if he could after all have made out of this Passage some *little Matter* to his Purpose, yet St. Jerom would tell him in his [a] Preface to this Book, that he ought not much to insist upon it, because he owns this Piece to be a *hasty, incorrect Performance*, and *not well digested or much thought of by him*.

We are now got through the Examination of our Editor's new and noble Thought *a priori* ; how noble an one it is, the Reader is by this time sufficiently convinced ; but as to the *Newness* of it, it had been much more to his Purpose, I can tell him, if he could have proved it to be *an old one* ; but since he values himself so much upon its *Novelty* ; we must be so candid, as to allow him the *sole and intire Credit* of it, and must own, that *no Man alive* ever dreamt of it before, or was *capable of forming it but himself*. But if, after all, it should at last be found without a *just Foundation* ; or should fail him in any Part of what he has promised himself and the World from it ; then this *whole Scheme* must appear to be wholly *useless and impertinent* ; for *bating this Whim*

[a] Ut sciatis me non cogitatum diu limatumque proferre Sermonem. Com. ad Ephes.

about St. Jerom's *Order of Words*, he cannot do any thing more with *his old Version* than what has effectually been done before him, by *much better and abler Hands*; excepting, I say, this *silly Notion*, all that can be done towards *settling the Genuine Text from the mutual Consent and Agreement in Words and the Order of them*, has already been executed, as I have sufficiently shewn in *my Remarks*, by *the Complutenses, Erasmus, Stephens, Mr. Toinard, and Dr. Mill*. Every one of these knew perfectly well how far the *old Greek and Latin Copies answered and tallied with each other*; not *one of them* but had made the Experiment in *many more Manuscripts* [a]; and *as old ones as he himself*. And not onely Dr. Mill, but *other Critics* have given us exactly the same Account he does of *those very old Manuscripts* he speaks of\*, *how Line an-* \* P. 23.  
*swers to Line, and Word to Word in Order* [b],  
 in

[a] Erasmus institutâ semel atque iterum Græcorum Exemplarium inter se & cum MSS. codicibus versionis vulgatæ collatione ad Editionem, &c. Mill. Prolegom.

Adhibitis in consilium utriusque linguæ codicibus, vetustissimis simul & emendatissimis. Erasmi. ad Leon. x.

Porro veterem versionem negligendam non existimavi, &c. Steph. Præf. 1551.

Ex quâ Rob. Stephani de veteri interprete sententia vulgatum Textum Græcum castigandum putavi ex vaticanarum lectionum & veteris versionis mutuo consensu. Toinard, Harm. Evan. 1709.

[b] Exemplar ipsum quod attinet; descriptum est literis, &c. in quibus sedulò a scriptore cautum est, ut Græca  
 & La-

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals, in the Greek and Latin.* This I desire to be particularly observed by the Reader, because *our Editor has the Face* to affirm, that not *one Editor* of them all, not *Dr. Mill by Name*, had ever taken any Notice in their Collation of Manuscripts of the Order of Words.

It was no Secret, I say, to *prior Editors*, that the *old Version* was upon the Matter a *verbal Translation*; not onely adhering pretty closely to the Words, but very much to the Order of them too.

Dr. Mill has shewn this to be the Genius of the old Vulgate thro' every Book of the New Testament, and has produced likewise every Alteration, now to be found, which St. Jerom made in it; and all this, with no other View or Purpose, than to prove and clear up the Original Text; and yet *our Editor* has the Assurance likewise to affirm \*, that the Doctor never meddled at all with the Latin Vulgate, nor ever once dreamt of the excellent Use of it; tho' he tells us all along in his Prolegomena [a] that he paid the utmost Veneration

& Latina sibi invicem responderent, verbum fere verbo, servato plerumque eodem ipso verborum ordine. Mill. Proleg. p. 182.

Retento eodem verborum quantumcunque transpositorum ordine. Id. p. 133.

[a] Veterem Novi Testamenti Italicam summâ veneratione



*vation to it, and valued every tatter'd Fragment of it like old Gold.*

But tho' *former Editors*, as I have said, speak so much of the *close Adherence of the Vulgate to the Greek*, yet they knew withal *how far this Harmony extended*; and shew us plainly, that it was so far from *following the Words so scrupulously and superstitiously*, as if the *Order of them were a Mystery*; that it often *departed from them*; sometimes *wantonly and without Reason*; in re ludicrâ quasi lasciviens & oscitans. Mr. Martin tells us [b], *that as to the admirable Agreement, which our Editor pretends to have found amongst his Manuscripts, in the Places he has compared; he can assure him without Rashness, that he will find several others, wherein he'll find Difference enough*; which I shewed likewise from the *Observation of Erasmus, Arias Montanus and Beza.*

But here † *our Editor* comes over us again † p. 24. with his *old fetch*; *What Greek? What Vulgate was this they talk of?* as for those *recent, interpolated, scoundrel, scrub Manuscripts*, which *they saw and used*, and which *our Master would scorn*

tione prosequimur, ejusque vel semesa fragmenta auro contrâ non cara ducimus. Mill. Proleg. p. 142.

Restat jam ipsius Hieronymi inspiciamus Exemplar. Ibid. p. 81.

[b] Defence of Dissertat. English.

to look into, they will differ from our Master's Greek and Vulgate in thousands of Places. But he forgets sure, that of the four very old Manuscripts, which he had appealed to in the very last Page, Beza had used two at least, and the most considerable of them; one of which he made a Present of to the University of Cambridge. As for Erasmus and the other Editors, they have all given us Accounts of some Manuscripts they used, of the most venerable Antiquity, which the Learned have not been able to find out to this Day; and as it is probable, that some of them may have been lost; so neither is it unlikely, that others, after having lain neglected and buried for many Years in Obscurity, may have been retrieved and produced again into the World under the Notion of a new Discovery.

But we need not trouble our selves, as I have said in my Remarks, with producing Evidence in a Case so clear; for his own Specimen effectually overthrows his Hypothesis; where, in the Latin Text, as dressed up by himself, we see many considerable Variations in the Order of Words from the Greek, as v. 2, 5, 8, 9, 12, &c. This

\* p. 24. our Editor calls \* a Specimen of the greatest Malice and Impudence, that ever Scribler out of the dark committed to Paper. But let him rave as much as he pleases; I am so far from seeing any Reason to change my Mind, that I still insist, that these very Variations are a sufficient Confutation of his Notion; and with these I will

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undertake to shew, that *the Account* which *other Editors* have given of *the old Version* is *just and true*; whilst *his own* is *false and ridiculous*. Dr. Mill says [a], of *this Version*, that in *this Book of the Revelations* it is *very accurate*, and almost every where follows the Greek closely at the Heels, unless where it is proper to change the Tenses of the Verbs. Our Editor on the other hand says, † that St. Jerom, who reformed *this* † p. 20. *Version*, believed the Order of Words to be a *Mystery*; which he observed therefore in his *Latin* most religiously, not daring to vary a Tittle from it. The Question is, which of these Characters is true? And it may easily be decided by an Appeal to the Specimen. For instance, τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν τεύθειν καὶ ἐν ἑεύθειν, v. 2.] is rendred in *Latin*, *ex utraque parte fluminis*. Here we see, the *Version* is very accurate as to the Sense, but makes very free with the Order of Words. Our Editor says \*, it could not be translated otherwise,\* p. 24. without a Barbarism. But what's that to the Purpose, in a *Version* which is allowed to abound in Barbarisms? If it had been rendred, *fluminis hinc & hinc*; it would have been as intelligible, and even as good *Latin* as many other Places, that might be produced; but if it must needs be *ex utraque parte*; why should not *fluminis* be put before rather than behind, to cor-

[c] In Apocalypsi, versio admodum accurata erat, ipsisque Textus Græci vestigiis ubique ferè κατὰ πόδας insitebat, nisi cum series narrationis exigent, ut mutarentur verborum tempora. Mill. Proleg.

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,  
respond the better with the Greek in a Point so  
sacred ?

Ως τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, v. 12.] is in the Latin, *secundum opera sua*. Here we see the *Version* preserving still the *Sense*, but regarding neither the *Words* nor *Order of Words*. But our  
† p. 24. *Editor* tells † us again, that this could not possibly be helped, for it must have been very awkward to have translated otherwise; as if *Mysteries* were to be given up for *Trifles*. A Page or two ago, St. *Jerom* was defending awkward Latin, for fear of losing a *Tittle of Sense*; but now the *Tables are turned*, and he must needs profane *Mysteries*, for fear of writing awkwardly. But what is most surprising, is to find our *Editor* roundly affirming that in these two *Instances* there is not the least *Variation*, nor any *Breach of Order at all*; and yet but three Lines after he calls it, a *judicious Change of the whole*; surely no Man but himself could have such a Contempt for his Readers as to think to put them off with such *shuffling, senseless, incoherent Stuff* as this.

• p. 25. He is forced however at last to own, \* that there are two *Deviations from the Order of Words*, as ἔκ ἕσται ἔτι, v. 5.] *ultra non erit*, for *non erit ultra*; and τῷ δεινύοντι μοι ταῦτα, v. 8.] *qui mihi hæc ostendebat*, instead of *ostendentis mihi hæc*. But these he laughs at, as too trifling to deserve any *Regard or Consideration*;



tion; and so far I agree with him, that the *Alterations* are indeed *very trifling*; and that it would be impertinent to take notice of them on any Account but this, where it happens, that the *more inconsiderable* they are, the more effectually they shew the *Absurdity of his Notion*; for if St. Jerom believed the *Order of Words to be a Mystery*; would he violate that *Mystery* for a Trifle, for nothing at all? If he believed it a *Point of Religion*, to stick to the *very Order of Words*, would he have departed from it in *meer Wantonness*, without the *least Pretence* in the World for it? A man, one would think, must be infatuated, that would reason so *absurdly and inconsistently*.

As for the *other two Instances* I referred to, my Meaning was to shew by them a *verbal Variation from the Greek*, which is as much against his Scheme as if the *Order were chang'd*; for he promises, that *Jerom's Latin* is to agree with the *Greek*, as well in the *very Words* as the *Order*. And yet for all his Reflection upon my *Et cætera*, I can produce many more Examples of this kind in *his Specimen*, as ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα, v. 20.] is in the *Latin*, *qui testimonium perhibet istorum*; and can any Man call this *translating verbally*, or *adhering religiously to the Words*? Nay, is it not just the contrary, a *departing from the Words*, as far as is possible, without hurting the *Sense*? If the *Translator* had been so *scrupulous*, as our *Editor* makes

him, he must necessarily have rendred it by, *testificans hæc* ; which is a Phrase very common with the *Vulgate Version*. Again *πᾶς φιλεῖ καὶ ποιεῖν ψεῦδος*, v. 15.] must, according to our *Editor's Notion*, have been translated, *omnis amans & faciens Mendacium*, and not, *qui amat & facit* ; and *ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι*, v. 8.] must likewise have been rendred, *cecidit adorare* ; and not, *ut adorarem* ; for there are Instances in this very Chapter of both these kinds of Translation. And now we see the Truth of Dr. Mill's *Observation*, and the *Extravagance of our Editor's* ; the *Version* keeps accurately to the Sense ; almost every where closely to the Words ; and yet changes sometimes the Moods and Tenses of Verbs, but yet departs both from Words and Order of Words often enough to convince us, that the *Translator* never dreamt of any *Mystery* lodged in either.

But the Truth and Merit of *this new and noble Thought* may easily be brought to a *Trial* and *Experiment* by the Reader ; for let him take the *Scraps of Greek* here produced, and with our *Editor's Notion* fixt in his Head, let him sit down to translate them anew, as exactly and agreeably to it as possible ; and he will soon find it necessary in every single Instance to give us *other Latin*, than we now see in the *Specimen*. Or on the other hand, let him throw aside the *Greek*, and endeavour to translate the *Latin* back again with the *Notion* of its agreeing

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*most religiously and minutely with the Original both in the Words and the Order of them ; and he would soon find his Greek likewise appear very different from that of the present Text ; he would soon find, I say, in both these Cases, that our Editor's Notion, if pursued exactly, and with so much Stress, as is laid upon it, would, instead of mending both Texts, make them both instrumental to the corrupting each other.*

I had before observed in my Remarks, how *our Editor's Notion* would naturally lead him to wrest and force both Texts, to accommodate them the better to his Hypothesis. This he will needs have to be a stupid and senseless Calumny ; confuted even by my self ; for if he had been disposed, he says, \* to warp his Texts ; he could \* p. 2. easily have set all the Variations I have been objecting to him, in their right Order, and have kept his own Counsel. We see what an Opinion he has of the Sense and Abilities of Mankind ; there's no Sagacity, no Judgment, no Observation in any Man but himself ; we have nothing but his great Integrity to trust to for the Genuineness of our Scriptures. 'Tis but keeping his own Counsel, and he could put upon us what Text he pleases, and the Christian World be never the wiser. But for all the Appeal he here makes to his great Fidelity, the Reader may easily observe in his Specimen, what a Bias and Prejudice there is upon him from the Influence of this

*Notion of his ; for as to the Greek Text, he does not scruple to make it bend to the Latin upon the Credit of a single Manuscript ; and often changes it, where his main Authority is fetch'd from the Consent of the Latin Copies, v. 5, &c. And for the Latin, he is still less scrupulous ; making it comply with the Greek, sometimes, as he owns, contrary to the greatest Part of the Manuscript, v. 5. sometimes contrary to all the Manuscripts he ever saw, v. 3. This Agreement of the two Texts, he calls, \* as plain and cogent a Reason for altering them, as any Authority. And it is not enough for him, we find, † to restore the Text to Truth and Certainty, except it be restored to Order too. And what else is this but putting a Force, as I said, upon both Texts, the better to make good his own Hypothesis ?*

In the Close of *my Remarks* on this second Paragraph, I had observed, that *our Editor in a Sermon preached some time ago at Cambridge, and since printed, had spoken of the vulgar Latin in a Style very different from what he uses at present ; and I took Occasion there to shew, as an Instance of his great Skill and Knowledge in the Controversy he was then handling ; how in the Face of an University, and in a studied, laboured Discourse upon the Errors of Popery, he betrayed a profound Ignorance of what the Church of Rome maintained, or the Council of Trent had decreed in respect to the Vulgate Version ; and blunder'd along with the common Herd of Writers,*  
about



about *their enhancing the Stream above the Fountain*; the *Translation above the Original*; the *corrupt Latin of an unknown Author*, above the *inspired Greek*. All which *Stuff* can serve for nothing else, but to make us *contemptible to the Papists*; having been *so often confuted*, and *so constantly disclaimed* by all their *best Writers*.

But he has thought fit to take no other Notice of this Charge, than by repaying my Compliment in kind, and answering me *\*with a Blunder\** p. 27. of my own; for having told us, in this Sermon of his, that *more Antient Manuscripts are preserved of the Greek than of the Latin*. I was silly enough, it seems, to mistake it for *more in Number*; whereas he meant *onely more in Degree*; that is, *antienter*. For tho', says he, † *there are four or five Greek Manuscripts, older* † *ibid.* *than any Latin one*; yet for *those of a thousand Years old*, there are *twenty Latin ones preserved for one Greek*. We see here, that *Manuscripts of a thousand Years old* are nothing at all with him; he talks as familiarly of them, as if they were to be found in every Bookseller's Shop. He told us not long ago § of *eight Greek Manuscripts*, he § p. 13. *had by him, of above a thousand Years old*; and if there was not *one more in Being than these eight*, yet that would raise the Number of his *Latin ones to eight Score*, which I am sure, modestly speaking, is *at least ten times more* than are now *known to be extant in all the World*. *Jac. le Long*, a learned Father of the Oratory, and  
Library

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,*  
*Library-keeper at Paris, after a most curious*  
*and diligent Enquiry among the best Authors,*  
*and Libraries of Europe, could not find so much*  
*as one Manuscript of St. Jerom's vulgar Latin,*  
*which appeared certainly and undoubtedly to be*  
*a thousand Years old ; as we see in the Catalogue,*  
*he has printed, of an hundred of the best and oldest*  
*of them, now known in the World, with Critical*  
*and Historical Notes upon each. He tells us, as*  
*I find him quoted also by Mr. Martin, (p. 14.)*  
*that he found none older than Theodulphus, who*  
*was an Abbot, and Bishop of Orleans about A. D.*  
*790. He mentions another of the Year 795. and*  
*a Third of which he doubts a little, in a Mona-*  
*stery of the Cistercians, which is reputed to be a*  
*thousand Years old. But this is another Instance*  
*of the Liveliness of our Editor's Imagination ;*  
*and shews that Father Amelote was really but a*  
*Novice to him.*

#### Paragraph the Third.

*The Author believes, that he has retrieved (ex-*  
*cept in very few Places) the true Exemplar of O-*  
*rigen, which was the Standard to the most Learn-*  
*ed of the Fathers, at the time of the Council of*  
*Nice and two Centuries after. And he is sure,*  
*That the Greek and Latin Manuscripts, by their*  
*mutual Assistance, do so settle the Original Text to*  
*the smallest Nicety, as cannot be performed now*  
*in any Classic Author whatever : and that out of*  
*a Labyrinth of Thirty Thousand Various Readings,*  
*that crowd the Pages of our present best Editions,*  
*all*

*all put upon equal Credit to the Offence of many good Persons ; this Clue so leads and extricates us, that there will scarce be two Hundred out of so many Thousands that can deserve the least Consideration.*

## REMARKS.

In my former Remarks on this Paragraph, I had said, that *the Account, our Editor here gives of Origen's Exemplar, which he pretends to have retrieved, seemed to be a groundless Fancy, or Mistake of his own ; and I supported my Opinion with many good Reasons and Authorities, which I need not now repeat. Our Editor however is resolved, we see, at all Adventures to stick to his Point ; and growing onely more desperate by Opposition, advances still and rises in his Assertion, ut ex frontis duritiâ fidem lectori faceret, & quod impudenter scriberet, verè scribere judicaretur.* Hier. For Origen's Exemplar, which was before a Standard onely to the most Learned of the Fathers, is now declared to have been received as such \* by both Eastern\* p. 30. and Western Churches. Nay, he now tells us the very Circumstances and Manner of Origen's composing it, as if he had stood all the while at his Elbow, or had been as intimate with him as once with Dr. Mill ; for he gathered, he assures us †, from all Parts the Exemplars of the best † Ibid. Note ; examined and collated them ; and by those Helps settled the genuine Text, just as he himself and

and other good Critics would do, even at *this Day*. Yet all this *formal Story*, will be found at last to be *pure Invention* of his own, without any *Reality* or *Foundation* in *Truth* or *History*; and I may venture without any *Scruple* to affirm, that there is not the *least Ground* or *Authority* for it in *all Antiquity*.

The first Argument I shall produce for this Opinion of mine (which I take to be a very conclusive one) is what I have met with and borrowed from *Origen himself*, who tells us in his *Commentaries* upon *Matthew* (c. xix. v. 19.) that he believes this Sentence, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν, *thou shall love thy Neighbour as thy self*] to have been an *Interpolation* or *Addition* made to the *Text* by some *Copyer*; for which he gives very good Reasons; but does not, as *Criticks* do now, produce the *Authority* of any particular *Manuscript* to support his Conjecture. It would be impious, says he, to assert such a *Passage* as this to be interpolated, if we did not know the great *Difference* there is in the several *Copies* of the *New Testament*, caused either by the *Negligence*, *Ignorance*, or *Rashness* of *Transcribers*. This *Evil*, continues he, [a] we have, by *God's Assistance*, remedied,

[a] Τὴν μὲν ἔν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωρίαν, θεῶν διδόνῃ, ἔυρομεν ἰάσασθαι, κριτήριον χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν. Orig. Comm. in Mat. p. 381. ex Edit. Huet.



as far as concerns the *Old Testament*, by making use of its several Editions as the Rule of judging by. Here we see Origen is treating expressly of the *Corruptions*, which were found in the *Copies of the New Testament*; and if he had made it his Business to have corrected and reformed them, and out of them all to have gathered and settled the genuine, authentic Text as our Editor affirms, it would have been here very proper, nay very necessary to have given us some account of it; but instead of that, he tells us, that he took this Pains onely in the *Old Testament*, without any mention, either here or any where else, that he ever did the same in the *New*.

Eusebius, who was a zealous Apologist for Origen, has not given the least Hint of it, in his *History* of those Times; tho' he has left us a very large Account of the Merits of this Great Man. He tells us, with what incredible Industry he applied himself to the Study of the Scriptures [a], and what numerous Volumes of Commentaries he wrote upon most of the Books of Sacred Writ; what Pains he took in publishing his celebrated Work called Hexapla; where his Diligence was chiefly employed in correcting and amending the Edition of the Septuagint: But he says not one Word of any critical Pains he took upon the Text of the *New Testament*; or of any famous

[a] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. cap. 25. l. 6.

*Exemplar* he left of it ; but instead of that, acquaints us, *that he did not receive some of its Books as Canonical.*

*Ruffinus*, who translated most of *his Works* into *Latin*, and wrote an *Apology* for him, has not taken the least Notice of any *such correct Exemplar* of his, as is here pretended.

*St. Jerom*, who was a great Admirer of *Origen's Parts and Learning*, is very particular in the frequent account he gives of *his Hexapla* ; yet says not *one Word* to make us believe that he ever attempted or effected any *Critical Edition of the New Testament*, or left any Copy of it behind him so famous for its *Correctness*, as to become a *Standard to any Body* ; and as to the *Edition of the Septuagint*, exhibited in *his Hexapla*, where he had placed most of his Pains and Skill, he often tells us [b], *that different Countries used different Copies even of that : For Alexandria and Ægypt*, says he, *followed the Edition of Hesychius : Constantinople as far as Antioch, preferred that of Julian the Martyr ;*

[b] Nunc cum pro varietate regionum diversa ferantur Exemplaria, & antiqua illa translatio corrupta sit, &c. Alexandria & Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat autorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Juliani Martyris Exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has Provinciæ Palæstinos Codices legunt, quos ab origine elaboratos Eusebius & Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Hier. Præf. in lib. Paralipom.

*and the Provinces between these two read Origen's Copies, which Eusebius and Pamphilus published. So that his most celebrated, admired and critical Work, his Edition of the old Scriptures, instead of being a Standard to the whole Christian World, was onely received as such in a small Corner of it, hardly beyond the Confines of Palestine.*

St. Jerom lived at Bethlehem, in this very Country, where he made a *Collection of Origen's Works*; in order to use him as a *Commentator*, and not as a *Critic*; for he condemns [a] *his very Edition of the Septuagint, as corrupted rather than mended by him*; and when he was reproached as an Admirer of his Notions, *I praised in him*, says he [b], *the Commentator, and not the Author of Opinions; his Parts not his Faith; the Philosopher not the Apostle*: and in another Place, he says [c], *that it was in his Tomes or Volumes of Commentaries that he spread the full Sails of his Wit and Parts to the blowing Winds*. St. Jerom, whose chief employment was *writing Commentaries upon the Scriptures*, made it his Business to collect *all the Commentators what-*

[a] Epist. ad August.

[b] Laudavi interpretem non Dogmatisten; ingenium non fidem; Philosophum non Apostolum. Id. ad Pam.

[c] Ille inscripsit Tomos, nos volumina; — in quo opere tota ingenii sui vela spirantibus ventis dedit. Id. ad Vincen. Presb.

soever, who were of any Note, or admired in the Church, and Origen among the rest, to whom he often gives the Preference. He tells us [a], *that he abounded in many different Editions of the sacred Writings*; and when he was charged with following Origen's Opinions, he excuses himself by saying [b], *I have collected his Books, I confess, but wish that I had the Volumes of all the Writers of this kind.* And again, *it is the Duty*, says he [c], *of a Commentator to give the Opinions of many Writers*; and for that Reason I have also given the Explanation of Origen. And in the same Book he says [d], *in my Commentaries on the Ephesians, I have followed Origen, and Didymus, and Apollinarius, (who all certainly hold Opinions contrary to each other) in such a Manner, that I might not lose the true Faith.* In these Commentaries which he had collected there might very probably be added or interwoven a Copy of

[a] Et quoniam, largiente Domino, multis sacrae Bibliothecae Codicibus abundamus. Id. ad Flor.

[b] Congregavi libros ejus, fateor, &c. Utinam omnium Tractatorum haberem volumina. Id. ad Pam. & Ocean.

[c] Commentatoris officium multorum sententias ponere, etiam Origenis explanationem posui. Id. cont. Ruff. l. 1.

[d] Ego in Commentariis ad Ephesios sic Origenem, & Dydimum, & Apollinarium sequutus sum (qui certe contraria inter se habent dogmata) ut fidei meae non amitterem veritatem. Id. ibid.



*the Text*, which each Author followed ; and it must be allowed likewise, that *Origen* here and there *occasionally interspersed some Critical Notes and Observations upon the different Readings of the several Exemplars he had met with*. And this will lead us to the true Meaning and Explication of *those two Passages of St. Jerom*, which *our Editor* has brought, \* as the sole † p. 21. Authority and Foundation of his Assertion ; both which he borrowed onely from *Dr. Mill* [b], and tho' he pretends so much to despise his Authority, yet was plainly led by it into *this unhappy Blunder*, by the Doctor's having laid more stress upon *these Passages* than they will be found able to bear ; and what makes it clear, that he looked no farther than *the Doctor's Prolegomena*, is, that besides *these two Citations*, he mentions here *a third*, which he found also in the same Place, about the *Collation of Origen's Copies at Cæsaræa*, with telling us where to look for it in *St. Jerom*, because *Dr. Mill himself* had neglected to inform us, where he found it. As to the two Passages here produced, the first is in *this Father's Commentaries on Matthew* (c. 24.) where he speaks [c] of *a Reading found in the Latin Copies which was not in the Greek ones, especially those of Origen and Pierius*. The second is in *his Commentaries*

[b] Vid. Mill. Prolegom. p. 64.

[c] In quibusdam *Latinis* codicibus additum est, *neque Filius* : cum in *Græcis* & maxime *Adamantii & Pierii Exemplaribus*, hoc non habeatur adscriptum.

on Galatians (c. 3.) where he says [a], *that he omitted to say any thing upon an Expression there mentioned, because it was omitted in Origen's Copies.* And now, what does our Editor gather from *these two Passages*? Why his Conclusion is, that *Origen's Exemplar of the New Testament was a Standard to the Eastern and Western Churches, that is, the whole Christian World*; and yet the *Premisses* imply nothing more, than that St. Jerom made use of Origen, amongst other Commentators; sometimes following one, and sometimes another. For the *first of these Instances* will prove full as well that *Pierius's Exemplar was a Standard, as that of Origen*; since *both of them* are put exactly upon the Level; and the *second* onely shews, that Origen was there preferred to the *rest of the Commentators*; For tho' St. Jerom made use, as I have shewn, of *several of them* in other Books; yet he tells us [b], that *he followed Origen alone in this*; and it was but necessary therefore for him to omit the saying any thing upon *such Passages*, as Origen himself had left out of his Copy, or had neglected to take notice of

Among all the *Modern Writers* who are allowed to be the *most knowing in Antiquity*, and the *best Judges of the Point in question*, there is not the *least Notion* that Origen left behind him

[a] Sed hoc quia in *Adamantii Exemplaribus* non habetur *omissus*.

[b] Imbecillitatem virium mearum sentiens Origenis Commentarios sum sequutus. Id. Præf. ad Galatas.

any

any Exemplar of the *New Testament*, which was received afterwards as a *Standard*.

Neither *Du Pin* in his *Life of Origen*, nor *Monf. Tillemont*, who has written still more largely and particularly about him, has given us any hint about it, but tells us onely the *old Story of his Hexapla and his Commentaries*, and how the great Reputation he acquired by these, drew many Strangers from all Parts to visit him.

The *Learned Huetius* (in his long and elaborate Treatise called *Origeniana*, prefixed to his *Edition of Origen's Commentaries*) has collected all that *Antiquity and the Fathers* have delivered of *Origen's Writings and Opinions*; with a particular History of all who favoured, or declared against him, whether *Churches or private Persons*; yet he gives us no Reason to imagine that his Copy of the *New Testament* was taken notice of any where after his Death as a *Standard of the genuine Text*; but on the contrary, that [a] his Industry was chiefly celebrated for explaining the *Mysteries of the Old Testament*; and that [b] he did not stick to any one Edition, but used several; and often quoted the *Spurious and Apocryphal Gospel to the Hebrews*, as *St. Jerom himself assures* [c] us.

[a] In evolvendis præcipuè *Prisci Fæderis* mysteriis laudata sit ipsius industria. Huet.

[b] Non eâdem Editione in iis interpretandis usus est. Ib.

[c] Utebatur sæpenumerò *Adamantius Evangelio secundum Hebræos*. Hier. de Scriptor. Ecclesiæ in Jacobum.

M. Simon [a] indeed speaks very roundly to the present Subject, and affirms directly that Origen never did what our Editor here declares him to have done ; that is, leave any Exemplar of the New Testament as a Standard of the Genuine Text to the Church. He corrected, he tells us, the Edition of the Septuagint, according to the common Rules of Criticism ; but did nothing like it in the New Testament : For the Ecclesiastical Writers, says he, [b] who lived after him, never take the least Notice of two Sorts of Editions of the New Testament, as they do always of the Old, viz. the common one, and the other corrected by Origen. He owns indeed, that he collected with Care the best Copies of his Time, and made some Critical Reflections upon several Places of them as Occasion offered ; yet it does not at all appear, he says [c], that what he did of this Kind ever served as a Law or Standard in regard to the New Testament, as it did in respect

[a] Vid. Crit. Hist. of the N. T. v. 1. p. 337.

[b] Mais il n'a rien fait de semblable sur le livre de Nouveau Testament aussi ne voyons nous point, que les Ecrivains Ecclesiastiques, qui ont vécu aprus Origene, ayent distingué deux sortes d'Editions du Nouveau Testament, comme ils ont distingué deux Editions de la Version des septante. Ibid.

[c] Mais il ne nous paroît point, que sa Critique ait servi de loy au regard a ces livres, comme au regard a l'ancienne Version Grecque du vieux Testament, si cela étoit arrivé, nous aurions eu.



*to the Septuagint of the Old; for if this had been so, then we should have had, continues he, [a] a kind of Mazora for the Text of the New Testament, as the Jews have for that of the Old, and the Church would have acquiesced in Origen's Text, as the others do in that of their Mazorites.*

Dr. Mill makes it evident and certain in his *Prolegomena*, that the Copies of the New Testament, which Origen made use of, were corrupted and interpolated, (which may be gathered likewise from St. Jerom himself) and he shews withal, that he was not curious or exact in his Citations of the Scripture, but often trusted to his Memory, and made use of various Editions, as he happened to have them at hand, and sometimes quoted the same Passage very differently; and it is hardly credible, that he should leave a Standard of the genuine Text to the Church, who never had any certain or particular Exemplar of his own, which he made a Standard to himself.

But should we allow our Editor, for Argument's sake, that Origen did leave behind him such a Copy of the New Testament as he pretends, there is still another Difficulty to be got over,

[a] Une Massore du Texte Grec des Evangelistes, & des Apôtres, de la meme maniere, que les Juifs en ont une du Texte Ebreu, &c. Ibid.

another Question to be resolved, viz. *how this same Copy can now be retrieved by any Man at this Distance?* The onely Way now left of coming at any Reading of Origen, is by collecting all the scatter'd Passages of Scripture, which are to be found in his Works, as well as all other Citations of them, borrowed from him by any of the Ecclesiastical Writers; but let him search as diligently as he pleases, all these Passages, when drawn together, cannot possibly make out the fiftieth part of an Exemplar of the New Testament. Most of Origen's Works have been lost many Centuries ago; and a great Part of what remains of him is preserved onely in Translations made chiefly by Ruffinus, who altered, abridged, and used them with a great deal of Freedom, as he himself owns, which gave Occasion to Erasmus to say [a], *that we hardly know any thing more of Origen now, than that in some things he was erroneous.* So that this Notion of retrieving his very Exemplar, must needs appear ridiculous, absurd, and little better than a Contradiction in Terms.

But let us allow him still farther, that *this Exemplar is even retrievable*; these are still but previous Points; the Merits of the Cause lie in a Question of meer Fact, viz. *Whether he has actually retrieved it or no*; and this can onely be

[a] Ac penè nihil novimus Origenis, nisi quòd in quibusdam erraverit. Erasmus. in script. Eccl. Hieron.

determined by an Examination of *the Proof* or *Instances* he has given us of it in his *Specimen*.

And here I have observed, that he has produced in his Notes *no more than three various Readings from Origen*; and instead of recovering or retrieving any Part even of these, he has thrown them all aside as false. This without doubt must needs appear very strange to the Reader; but yet the Excuse he here makes for it will, I dare say, seem much more surprising: For to solve *this Inconsistency*, he tells us, \* *that these were not the true Readings of Ori-* \* p. 31.  
*gen, but such as had been vitiated and corrupted by the Transcribers of his Works; not the Words of the Father, but of the Copyers of the Father.* To what Purpose then were they at all mentioned or alledged by him? It is his Duty to produce onely the *known and allowed Readings of the antient Writers*; much less, *such onely, as he knows to have never belonged to them.* Is this the Way of retrieving a true Exemplar, by representing us with nothing more of it, than what he owns to be *spurious*? Would any Editor in his Senses have quoted onely the corrupted Passages of an Author, even contrary to his own Emendations; if he had known of any true and genuine ones, that would have confirmed and established them? Our Critic has here plainly overshoot himself, and while he thought it so easy to make a Fool of his Reader, by carrying the

Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals, *jest too far*, has made a *Fool onely of himself*. I charged him with *being inconsistent*, in having given us *so little of Origen*; and he defends himself by proving, that he has really given us *nothing at all*. Thus, we see, that all this Noise he has been making about Origen, is but another *Flourish of his Rhetorick*; a *meer Banter*, and *Imposition* upon the World; and *he*, who pretends here to *sell us Origen's genuine Exemplar*, will be found to mean nothing more than the *Man*, who mounts a *Stage* with *Hippocrates's genuine Balsam*; the one is just as *quackish in Divinity*, as the other is in *Physick*.

As for the *rest of this Paragraph*, it is hardly worth while to give my self any further Trouble about it; since *our Editor* has not offered the least thing *material*, against what I have already *remarked* upon it. I charged him with *contradicting both himself and common Sense*, in making *that* a Ground of Offence against *Dr. Mill's Edition*, which he had before proved to be *its Advantage and Recommendation*; and when he had shewn *this very Offence* to be most *impertinent and ridiculous*. I observed, how he had made himself *very merry* [a] with *Dr. Whitby's Fears*; with his *greater Zeal than Knowledge*; and his *Concern for the Text*, without knowing the *Meaning of the Word*; and had exposed likewise the *Cavils of the Sceptics*, at the great Number

[a] Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 61.



*of various Readings, which we see in that very Edition ; but the confuting of Freethinkers, we may fancy perhaps to have been an easie Task ; but what shall we say to him now when he has confuted even himself ? For now he will needs fetch us back again, and make us believe that the Learned \* Dr. Whitby had surely Reason \* p. 32. to be alarm'd ; that the Panic seized the greater Part of the Clergy ; the poor Churchmen were terrified ; the Atheists carried all before them, and had gained in a manner a compleat Victory ; and yet, I dare say, there is not an Atheist or Sceptic of them all, that does not triumph more at this Day, than they have done for some Years past, to hear that the sacred Text is under the Correction of his Hand ; and not one of them, but would much sooner subscribe for an Edition of it from him, than from any other Critic in Christendom.*

If indeed we were still in the dark upon the Subject of *these various Lections* ; and could onely amuse our selves *in general*, about the *strange Difference of the several Copies of the New Testament*, if we could talk onely in the Lump of *thirty thousand various and contrary Readings of the sacred Text* which the Learned had discovered ; this indeed might be sufficient *to alarm*, and *offend many good Persons*, who had not been conversant in this kind of Knowledge. But since Dr. Mill has brought *them all* out into the Light ; and has set the whole Number before us in *one clear View* ;

*View*; it is impossible that they should any longer either be *formidable to the Christian*, or *serviceable to the Atheist*; and they are now so far from giving any *just Matter of Offence*, that they must necessarily *take it away*; and the Church must always owe *this Service to the Doctor*; that her Friends as well as Enemies must now be convinced, that *all these Differences*, so much talked of, consist onely in *meer Trifles and Niceties*, of no Moment, Significancy, or Influence as to the *Sense of Scripture*; and that as our Editor himself has declared [a], *no one Article of Faith, or even Moral Precept is either lost or perverted in all the thirty thousand, chuse as awkwardly as you will, chuse the worst by Design*. But after all, what a *Piece of Grimace* is it, to charge Dr. Mill with *crowded Pages*; with *Offence taken at the Number and undistinguished Authority of his Readings*, when, as I have before proved from his *own Specimen*, the charge is much more *just against himself* in all these very same Instances?

#### Paragraph the Fourth.

*To confirm the Lessons which the Author places in the Text, he makes use of the Old Versions, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic and Æthiopic, and of all the Fathers, Greeks and Latins, within the first Five Centuries; and he gives in his*

[a] Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 61, &c.

*Notes all the various Readings (now known) within the said five Centuries. So that the Reader has under one View what the first Ages of the Church knew of the Text; and what has crept into any Copies since, is of no Value or Authority.*

## R E M A R K S.

*Our Editor tells us here, that I have given him but very little Trouble, for I predict onely, he says, \* that his Edition will fall short of\* p. 35. former ones, which he will leave to the Edition it self to answer; and I wonder he did not hit upon this Answer much sooner; for if he had taken the same Course in all the other Paragraphs, he might have saved himself not onely a good deal of Pains, but all that Ignominy which the Malice as well as Ignorance of this Defence of his must necessarily expose him to.*

*As for the Edition itself, I have never pretended to predict, as he calls it, any thing at all about it, but what rises naturally and necessarily from his own Account and Description of it. I have undertaken onely to shew, that if it be like its Picture, which he himself has presented to the Publick, it must needs be a bungling, useless, and contemptible Performance; and that particularly, as it is proposed and described to us in this very Paragraph, it will fall far short of what Dr. Mill has already executed in his Edition.* This

This I proved from *our Editor's own Account* of what the Doctor had done, compared with what *he* now pretends to in *this Proposal before us* ; and here indeed I have truly *saved him some Trouble* ; having not left him the *least Syllable* to reply to it ; the thing is a *Demonstration*. He promises here to make use onely of *four Versions* ; whereas Dr. Mill has *actually made use of seven* : He pretends onely to give the *Readings of five Centuries* ; the Doctor has actually produced the *Readings of fifteen*.

† Ibid.

But he takes it † *heinously* of me, that I will not allow him to understand a *Tittle of the four Versions* he makes use of, and thinks it very hard, that *this Defect* should be charged as a *Reflection* upon him, which was never imputed as such to Dr. Mill, *who fairly and frankly professes in his Prolegomena that he knew nothing of the Oriental Tongues*. But here we may observe, by the Way, the *different Characters* of these *two Rival Editors* ; *the one* scorns to assume *any Merit*, which he has not a *just Right and Title* to ; *the other* scorns to allow *any Merit* to be in any other Man but *himself* : *The one* thinks it becomes him to *confess his Ignorance* of what he does not understand ; *the other* thinks it a *Reflection* to be said to be ignorant of any thing. But supposing *them both* to be entirely equal as to this Point, yet surely, I say, *seven Versions* must always be thought more  
con-



considerable, than *onely four of them*: But he would fain know how I come to be so *certain of his Ignorance of all these Languages*. This I allow to be a very *reasonable Question*; and shall always be content to be looked upon as a *Libeller*, and exposed accordingly, whenever I am found *positive*, without *very sufficient Vouchers*. Since therefore he desires it, I will tell him for once, how I came to know it *so certainly*. When I was a *Candidate for a Fellowship in his College*, I offered my self to be examined by him in *Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac*, which at that time I had taken some Pains about; but I was much disappointed to find that he would not undertake *to examine me in any of them*; tho' for a Cover of his Ignorance, he told me then *the same Story* he does now, of the *famous Hexapla* he had composed, when he was in a Manner but a Boy. Some Years after this, at the Election of an *Hebrew Professor in the University*, where he was likewise a very *active Elector and Examiner*, he never pretended, as I was informed, *to examine the Candidates in the Oriental Languages*; but called onely for a *Pindar* to puzzle them with, as the properest way of trying the Merit of an *Hebrew Professor*. This, I presume, will be enough to justify what I have said on this Occasion; and he has not, we see, after all, the Courage to deny it directly; having nothing more to say for himself, than that he understood a good deal of the Matter *near forty Years ago*.

I had

I had observed likewise in this Paragraph a direct and evident *Contradiction* between the *Specimen* and the *Proposals*; for though he promises here to give in his *Notes* all the known *Readings* of the five first Centuries, yet he has omitted several Authorities within that Period, which Dr. Mill had taken notice of, as *Hilarius*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, v. 2. 5. 14. besides some of the old *Versions*; and instead of confining himself, as he pretends, to those first Ages of the Church, he makes as much use of some Authorities of inferior Date as of all the others put together; more particularly *Arethas*, a Writer of uncertain Age, who, as all Authors agree, could not be earlier than about the middle of the sixth Century, tho' placed by some as low as the tenth; yet our Editor roundly affirms

\* p. 42. him \* to have flourished in the fourth or fifth. *Gregory Palamas*, another of his Authorities, is truly a modern one of the fourteenth Century, and he condescends even to be greatly obliged to our printed Editions; to all which he has not thought fit to make the least Reply in his Answer.

#### Paragraph the Fifth.

The Author is very sensible, that in the Sacred Writings there's no place for Conjectures or Emendations. Diligence and Fidelity, with some Judgment and Experience, are the Characters here requisite. He declares therefore, that he does not alter

*alter one Letter in the Text without the Authorities subjoined in the Notes. And to leave the free Choice to every Reader, he places under each Column the smallest Variations of this Edition, either in Words or Order, from the received Greek of Stephanus, and the Latin of the two Popes Sixtus V. and Clemens VIII. So that this Edition exhibits both it Self, and the Common ones.*

## REMARKS.

I have already given the Reader *some proper Hints*, how to judge of our *Editor's Pretensions to the Characters* here given of a good *Scripture-Editor*; but tho' he takes no notice of the rest, he lays hold however on the Concession I had made, that *his whole Life had been spent in Critical Niceties and Grammatical Observations on prophane Authors*, and for *this*, he says, † *he* † p. 36. *is the fitter to give an Edition of the New Testament*; but I will venture to say even quite the contrary, that for *this* he is very unfit to give any *Edition* of it at all.

And here his *old Friend St. Jerom* happens to leave him in the lurch; but that's no Matter, he'll say; for he never yet valued any Friend who would not go *thorough Stitch* with him. *St. Jerom*, as we may see in the Passage of my *Title-page*, tells us a Story of *full as great a Critick as himself*, that was *so entirely engaged in the Study of Classical Letters*, that he knew  
just

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,*  
*just nothing at all of the Holy Scriptures, and yet*  
*like our Editor too, must needs be exposing his*  
*Ignorance by prating and meddling with what he*  
*did not understand. Our Editor, we know,*  
*spent above ten Years (the best and most vigo-*  
*rous of his Life) in giving onely an Edition of*  
*Horace; and what is this, but in the Expression*  
*of a Learned Author,*

Solido decennio infelicissimè & sine fructu  
negari.

For tho' this be the *most allowed and celebrated*  
*Instance of his Learning*, yet a great Part of his  
Time and Pains was employed, as I could easi-  
ly make appear, in *depraving and corrupting the*  
*Text of his Author, for want of understanding*  
*him: and the unwarrantable Freedoms* he has  
taken with *profane Authors*, will be so far from  
recommending him, that they must make all  
Men of Sense afraid of *trusting him with the Cor-*  
*rection of the Sacred ones.* But let him be never  
*such an Editor of Classics*, yet what's all this to  
an *Edition of the New Testament?* Or, as *St.*  
*Jerom* says [a], *What has Horace to do with the*  
*Psalms? Virgil with the Gospels? or Cicero*  
*with the Apostles?* Every body knows what a  
Difference and Contrariety there is between the  
*one and the other; not onely in their Sentiments,*

[a] Quid facit cum Pfalterio Horatius? cum Evange-  
liis Maro? cum Apostolis Cicero? Hier. ad Eustoch.



but in *their Stile*, or Manner of expressing them ; and an *Editor* who seems so fond of making *the Apostles* \* speak pure, polite and elegant Greek ; \* p. 34. whilst he is intent upon giving us a *correct Text*, must necessarily give us a *new one*.

I am very far from being an Enemy to *Classical Letters* ; and look upon them, not onely as *ornamental*, but highly *useful*, and *even necessary* to a *Divine* ; but still I must affirm, that *this kind of Learning alone*, without *Skill* and *Experience in the Sacred and Apostolical Writings*, is so far from qualifying a Man for an *Editor of the New Testament*, that it will necessarily lead him into *Error* and *Mistake*, and make him onely *corrupt the Text*, whilst he pretends to be *mending it*.

We cannot have a *surer Proof* and *Demonstration* of what I am asserting, than from *our Editor himself*, who, in *his Controversy with the honourable Mr. Boyle*, about *Phalaris's Epistles* had confidently asserted, that *προδίδωμι* never signified giving before, but onely betraying ; that *διώκω* never signified simply following after, but onely pursuing as a persecutor ; that *θυγαῖρες* never signified Maidens or Women in general, but onely Daughters ; and tho' these Observations might perhaps be generally true as to *profane Authors*, yet they were found to be certainly false in the *sacred ones*, as appeared by many Instances brought from the *Gospels* and

*Epistles* ; upon which the Learned and Ingenious Author makes [a] this *very just* Reflection, that *so profound a Græcian and Divine should have looked a little into the New Testament, before he had pronounced such rash and groundless Assertions.*

Our Editor however, to make good his Argument, tells us, \* *that the World has seen enough what poor Work is made in this kind by meer Theologues without Classcal Letters. A Theologue, we see, is of all Creatures most contemptible to him ; how does he wipe him at every turn with 'old Conscience †, Casuistical Drudge ‡, Splitter of Cases || ? &c.* Nay, his Friends tell us plainly, that *these Theologues are so very silly as not to subscribe for his Edition, and so must needs make poor Work on't indeed by preaching on still out of the old dull Text of Stephens or Mill.*

Yet what *Theologues are these*, I would fain know, who have made *such wretched Work in their Editions of the Scriptures* ? The World, I am sure, has been as much obliged to *some of them* in this Way, as to any Men who have yet appeared in it ; and owes the *noblest Editions of the Bible* now extant to the *Learning and Industry of meer Theologues.* This may be proved

[a] Vid. Dissertation upon *Phalaris's Epist.* examined by the Honourable Mr. Boyle, p. 68.

by such an Authority, as he himself cannot dispute; even his *own Words*; for in his *Remarks on Freethinking*, he says [a], *As Scaliger, Casaubon, Heinsius, &c. when they designed to publish a correct Edition of an Author, first laboured to procure all the Manuscripts they could hear of, as the only Means that promised laudable Success; so Stephanus, Junius, Circellæus, Walton, Fell, and Mill proceeded in the same Method. All these, except Stephens, says he, were Christian Priests, that is, as profound, true Theologues as ever were.* But we see how desirous he is to make up Matters with these Freethinkers, and for the civil things he once said of the Priests, resolves to make them Amends by paying off the poor Theologues.

But he checks\* me here very properly with\* p. 36. having forgot that he had preached eight Sermons about thirty Years ago at Mr. Boyle's Lectures; and he might have added two more since that time, one at Court, the other at the University. How therefore could his whole Life be spent in Critical Niceties? The Reflection I own to be just, the Sermons were quite out of my Head; but since he has put me in mind of them, I must do him the Justice to confess, that they are undeniable Proofs of his profound Skill and great Experience in Theological Learning; and it is well for him he went no farther; for he might

[a] Part. i. p. 74.

otherwise have been in danger of passing for as meer a Theologue as his two Predecessors Barrow and Pearson.

And now he is very severe upon me for the  
 \* p. 36. Choice of \* my Motto in the Title-page of my Remarks: For whilst I thought to have given a Hint by it, how our Critic was like to lay about him, in mangling the sacred Text, Peter Burman, it seems, from whose Oration it was taken, was all the while onely in Jest; but what's that to the Purpose, except he could prove me to have been in Jest too? If a Dutch Orator will needs be talking Sense the wrong Way, why may not I take the Liberty of turning it to the Right? The Sense of a Motto is not, I presume, to be looked for onely in the Author from whom it was borrowed, but in the Application of the Borrower. But he thanks me kindly † for my mention of Peter Burman, and takes the Opportunity of paying his Compliments upon this Oration of his, which, he says, is a very fine one in its Way, all writ in Lucian's Manner, a thorough Irony and Jeer. And it is indeed as thorough a Jeer as ever yet appeared, and as dull an one too, upon the Church, the Clergy, and every thing serious and sacred in the Practice and Principles of both; it is just, as he tells us, to let his Audience know, that to make a profound Theologue there's no need of any Skill at all, either in Languages, or History, or Eloquence, or Critic.



We have one feeble Fling more, says he, \* and \* P. 37. *this Paragraph is done*; and yet *this feeble Fling*, which he makes so light of, is nothing less than a glaring Contradiction between his Specimen and Proposals. He declares that he will not alter one Letter in the Text, without Authorities subjoined in the Notes; and yet I have shewn that he has altered many Letters in the Greek, without subjoining any Authorities; and made a verbal Emendation in the third Verse of the Latin, even contrary to all the Authorities he ever saw. As to the first, he says, † that the Reason of Lite-† Ibid. *ral Emendations could not be made appear in this short Specimen*; as if his Specimen, let it be as short as he pleases, had not as much Room in Proportion, as any other Part, or the whole of his Edition. But observe a little, how acutely he defends himself. He had undertaken to subjoin the Reason of every literal Alteration; but now he says, 'twas not to be done; the Reason of such Alterations could not be made appear, that is, I had charged him with a Contradiction, and he owns that he had promised an Impossibility. As to the verbal Emendation, tho' he had, he says, no Manuscript for it, yet he had such cogent Reason as is equal to Authority. But to shew him, that I have no Mind to quarrel with him merely for Letters, or an Alteration or two of the Latin Text, I will produce a Greek Emendation he has made, [v. 8.] viz. ἑλεψα changed by him into ἑλεπον, in all the three Editions of his Proposals, without the least Syllable subjoined in the Notes, either of any Authorities, or any of his cogent Reasons. But

there might not perhaps be room enough for this neither within the Compass of so short a Specimen; and this indeed must be said for him, that no Editor ever contrived to husband his little Room more dextrously; for many of his Emendations appear with no longer Train or Attendance after them, than that onely of a single Manuscript.

Paragraph the Sixth.

*If the Author has any thing to suggest towards a Change of the Text, not supported by any Copies now extant; he will offer it separate in his Prolegomena; in which will be a large Account of the several MSS. here used, and of the other Matters which contribute to make this Edition useful. In this Work he is of no Sect or Party; his Design is to serve the whole Christian Name. He draws no Consequences in his Notes; makes no oblique Glances upon any disputed Points, old or new. He consecrates this Work as a κειμήλιον, a θῆκη ἐσπεύη, a Charter, a Magna Charta, to the whole Christian Church, to last when all the Antient MSS. here quoted may be lost and extinguished.*

REMARKS.

Our Editor is here very severe upon me for being so mute \* where so fair an Occasion was given me of displaying my Parts, and for taking no notice of the plausible Topics he had thrown in

in my Way, *Emendations* and *mere Conjectures*, not supported by any Copies now extant; of no *Sett* or *Party*; no *Regard* to any *disputed Points*. The *Topics*, I own, are good and fruitful; but they did not at that time come at all within the *Scheme* or *Design* of my *Remarks*. He was here giving us an Account onely of what he *designed* to do in his *Prolegomena*, a Work, which we have not yet seen any *Specimen* of; and my *Business* was onely to dispute about *Fact*, and to meddle no farther with his *Edition*, than as it was exhibited and appeared in his *Proposals*; however, if we live to see his *Prolegomena* published, he will hardly have any Reason to complain of my neglecting him; for I shall be very ready to do him Justice on the Occasion, and let his *Subscribers* know what a Penny-worth they have got for their Money. But is it not strange in the mean while, that he should be so smart upon me in one Part of this Paragraph, of which I had not taken the least Notice, and yet have nothing at all to say to me in the other, of which I had taken so much? Is not this like a true Bully, to vapour and swagger when the Coast was clear, yet sneak presently out of sight as soon as an Adversary appeared? And yet I had said enough here, one would think, to make it scandalous for him to be silent, either as a Critic or a Christian; I had proved upon him a manifest Blunder and Solecism in the Use and Application he had made of a Classical Greek Word; I had shewn his Insolence to be but

*little short of Blasphemy, in the Stile he assumed of granting Charters to the Christian Church; all which he thinks sufficiently answered by calling it an aukward Ridicule upon Κειμήλιον and Magna Charta.*

We have had *Great and Learned Editors of the Bible* from all the principal Countries of *Europe*; but I defie e'er a *Gascon, Italian, or Spaniard* of them all to shew me such a piece of *true, genuine Rhodomontade* as this very *Paragraph*.

Having already shewn us how *accurate and correct* he is in the *Use of his Greek and Latin*, he comes now to give us a *Specimen* of the great *Propriety of his English*: For in *this Paragraph*, having promised *Immortality to his Labours*, he tells us, *that his Edition is to last, when all the antient MSS. are to be extinguished*. This *Ex-tinction of Manuscripts* I have, it seems, cavilled at in *my Remarks*, as a *barbarous Phrase*. But I cannot make *our Critic* apprehend, that I mean any *Solecism or Absurdity in the Expression*, but a *Cruelty onely and Barbarity in the Thought of extinguishing Manuscripts*; it cannot enter into his Head, that *to extinguish*, is properly applicable onely to *Fire*, either *real or metaphorical*; either *the thing* it self, or something *analogous to it*; but he still blunders along for a *whole Paragraph* together, to prove by many *Instances of History*, that as *cruel* as the *Thought*



is, it is however a *true one*; and that *Manuscripts have really been extinguished* in several Ages and Countries by *Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks*. Some of his Instances are *pleasantly ridiculous*; the *Library of Alexandria*, says he, \* *consisted of nothing else but Manuscripts?* and were not the Manuscripts extinguished when the Library was burnt? Again, whence have we our famous Manuscript at Cambridge? Was it not from a Monastery in Lions? And how could ours have been preserved, when the Monastery was plundered, if its Manuscripts had not been extinguished? From these Premises he concludes, that our Master's Thought is not so barbarous, as our Censor's Cavil is ignorant and silly. P. 38.

The Reader must needs think him strangely destitute of Friends, that he had no body near to advise him on this Occasion; to hinder his exposing himself at this Rate. Where was his Overseer and Corrector Mr. John Walker? Why could not he let him know, that the World would never endure such Trumpery? Some body should indeed be so free, as to tell him that he is now grown old; that his Parts and Learning are plainly running upon the Dregs; that 'tis time for him to have done, and think of quitting the Stage, before he be quite hissed off.

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,*

Paragraphs the Seventh and Eighth.

*To publish this Work, according to its Use and Importance, a great Expence is requisite: It's design'd to be Printed, not on the Paper or with the Letter of this Specimen, but with the best Letter, Paper, and Ink that Europe affords. It must therefore be done by Subscription or Contribution. As it will make Two Tomes in Folio, the Lowest Subscription for Smaller Paper must be Three Guineas, one advanc'd in present; and for the Great Paper Five Guineas, two advanc'd.*

*The Work will be put to the Press, as soon as Money is contributed to support the Charge of the Impression; and no more Copies will be Printed than are subscribed for. The Overseer and Corrector of the Press will be the Learned Mr. JOHN WALKER of Trinity-College in Cambridge; who with great Accurateness has collated many MSS. at Paris for the present Edition. And the Issue of it, whether Gain or Loss, is equally to fall on Him and the Author.*

REMARKS.

From these two Paragraphs I have observed, how this great and glorious Design, under Pre-  
tence of doing Service to common Christianity,  
dwindled here at last into a mere Money-Project,  
contrived and pursued onely for Gain and filthy  
Lucre.

*Lucre.* Our Editor, in his Answer, laughs onely at my *Simplicity*, for being *filly enough* to imagine, that there could be any thing else in it: For without that indeed, says he, † *what Sense*, † p. 38. *what Use in Proposals?* We would have had him published, I warrant ye, *some whining, canting Advertisement, to beg the Advice onely and Assistance of the Learned*; to desire no other Contributions than of *Manuscripts and Materials*, proper for so great and pious a Design, No, no; he knows too well *the Sense and Use of Proposals*; and it cannot be denied but that *those now before us* are the most compleat in their Kind, the most effectual for carrying on the *Learned and Laudable Trade of begging*, that ever before appeared. How artfully does he barter and biggle with us here, to quicken the Market, and gain his Price upon us? But of this I have already said enough in my former Remarks.

However, since he has been so kind, as to let us into the Secret of the *true Use and Sense of Proposals*, viz. the *begging Subscriptions*, I shall in return give him a *piece of Advice*, which he may probably find Reason to thank me for; that is, to get his *Proposals read in Churches by way of Brief on Sundays*. This, I am confident, must be the ready Way of making the best Penny of them; he may easily try the Experiment in his own *Archdeaconry*; and in making the *Essay*, \* *must needs reap glorious Fruits of his Sagacity* \* p. 20. and his Labour; for *twenty Churches burnt to the*  
Ground

Ground can never draw *our Money* from us so freely, as the doing *so signal a piece of Service to the whole Christian Name.*

SPECIMEN. See the Specimen in my former Remarks.

### REMARKS.

We are now come to a *Review of his Specimen*; where *our Editor* makes himself *very merry* with what I have said about his *borrowing all his Materials from Dr. Mill*: For he demonstrates †  
 † p. 40, &c. by a *nice and curious Calculation*, that of *sixty Emendations*, which he has made *in the Text*, the *Doctor* agrees with him *onely in four*; *dissents from him in three*; *starts one condemned by our Master*; *who has fifty-two yet remaining entire to himself*, his own proper Goods and Chattels.

Vide quantum timeam cachinnos tuos ut etiam nunc eadem ingeram. Hieron.

But he may *laugh* as much as he thinks fit, I shall however stick to *my Point*, and give him the Pleasure of affirming *once more*, that *all his Materials* are *borrowed*, or *stolen*, or *plunder'd*, call it which he pleases, *from Dr. Mill's Magazine.*

The *Doctor's Design in his Edition*, was, as I have



have before observed, to subjoin to *Stephens's Text* all the *various Readings* now known, with their *distinct Authorities*. This our Editor calls a *Promptuary to the Judicious and Critical Reader*; and from this *Promptuary* has taken *every single Reading*, without *one Exception*, of all *those fifty-two* which he so confidently calls *his own*. And what is this, I would fain know, but *stealing from Dr. Mill*? Was ever any *Theft* more evident, or more fully proved than this? *The Goods* are found upon him; are known to be *Dr. Mill's*; and he himself has *owned the Fact*.

There's another of his *Remarkable Contradictions* very proper to be taken notice of here. He told us, we know, and took a great deal of Pains to prove it, that *Dr. Mill had put all his various Readings upon equal Credit to the great Offence of many good Persons*; yet now he has been labouring for a whole Page together\*, to\* p. 41. prove *just the contrary*; that he was so far from putting all his Readings upon equal Credit, that in this *single Chapter of the Specimen*, he had distinguished four of them as true; three others as false; and one as dubious.

But our Editor informs † us here, that his † p. 40. Design in this Edition, is no more than to give us an accurate or authentic Greek Text, or as he explains it in another Place, § to restore the § p. 32. Text to Truth, Certainty and Order; a Design truly

truly modest and worthy of himself. He designs onely to *do that*, in relation to the Greek; which he had charged as a kind of Impiety upon the † *Papists*, for executing onely in the Latin, viz. the authorizing and authenticating a particular Edition. Out of the Plenitude of his Power, and by his single Authority he declares his own Greek Text Authentic; yet will not allow to two successive Popes [a] assisted by the most Learned Men of Europe, and backed by a Council, to declare the same of a poor Latin one. Nay, he goes much farther than the Church of Rome; for his Edition must not onely be authentic, but accurate too; whereas the Council of Trent contented themselves with making the *Vulgate Version* authentic to the People, but did not pretend to call it accurate or without Faults, but quite the contrary.

*Rob. Stephens's Edition of the New Testament* has been universally received and acquiesced in by all People, Protestants as well as *Papists*; tho' not as the very Original Infallible Text, yet as in the main a very correct one, or at least not grossly corrupt and imperfect. Nay, our Editor himself has formerly given it the high Character of a beautiful and generally speaking accurate Edition, which, as he says [b], has ever since been counted a Standard, and followed by all the rest.

[a] Vid. Serm. on Popery.

[b] Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 68.

Yet after all, he now pretends to have discovered in this *very Text of Stephens* \* *above sixty* \* p. 42. *Faults, within the Compass of one and twenty Verses.* If this Proportion be observed *through the whole*, what a monstrous Number must the *Corruptions* amount to? They must make at least, I dare say, twenty thousand. And is not this *absurd and incredible a priori*, as he calls it? Is it not a *direct Contradiction in Terms*, that an *Edition should be generally accurate*, and yet so *scandalously faulty*? Must not the *Christian World* have been *infatuated* and *himself too*, for admiring so long an *Edition as correct*, which appears at last, to be *more corrupt and interpolated*, than even the *very vilest of all the recent*, † *scrub*, and *scoundrel Manuscripts* he talks † p. 33. of? 34.

But we shall soon see a good Account of this Difficulty, and how easy it is to find *such Faults* as he does, with *Stephens*, or any *other Editor* whatsoever, by examining *some of his principal Emendations*, that are to make *this Text* of his so *accurate and authentic*. I had taken notice of *one of them*, in my *Remarks*, as a *Taste of his great Sagacity and Judgment*; but this he is pleased to call ‡ a *nauseous Taste of my own Ar-* ‡ p. 42. *rogance and Pedantry*. In the second Verse of his *Specimen* he has put *ἐν[εῦθεν καὶ ἐκ[εῖθεν]* into the *Text*, instead of *ἐν[εῦθεν καὶ ἐν[εῦθεν]* which all other Editors but *himself* had preferred as the *genuine Reading*. Now *this Alteration of his*

is so far from adding any *Accuracy* or *Correctness* to the *Text*, that I will maintain it to be a downright *Corruption* of it; a meer *Blunder* of his own, for want of his *Characters* requisite;

\* P. 31. \* *Judgment* and *Experience* in the *Style* and *Writings* of the *Apostle*. I have observed, that the *Phrase* is a pure *Hebraism*, and that the *Hebrews* have no other *Way* of expressing themselves on the *Occasion*, but by a *Repetition* of the same *Word*; of which I gave a few *Instances*.

† P. 42. But here he tells us, † with his usual *Wit* and *Smartness*, that my three *Hebrew* *Particles*, when *stript* of their *Garb*, are no more, than *Mizzeb umizzeb*; *Mippo umippo*; *Hennah vebennah*; and I should have wondered indeed very much, if they had proved to be any thing else; it is just as witty, as to say, that his boasted *Criticism*, when *stript* of its *Grecian* *Dress*; is no more at last, than *enteuthen kai ekeithen*. But let them look as *simple* and *naked* as he pleases; I am however content with finding them to be just what I could wish them; just what I designed them; and just enough for my *Purpose*.

It being allowed then, that the *Hebrews* always express this *Phrase* in the *Old Testament*, by repeating the same *Word*; I observed next, that the *Septuagint* likewise in their *Translation* follow the same *Manner* in *Greek*, rendring it by ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα; ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν. It is therefore highly probable, that *St. John*, who was a *Hebrew*,



brew, should preserve the *constant Idiom* of his *Native Language*, and when writing Greek, should (*as all the other Apostles generally do*) copy after the *Stile of the Septuagint*. The *Critics* tell us [a] besides, that *St. John of all the other Sacred Writers, abounds more particularly in Hebrew Phrases, and that to understand the Sense of his Writings, it is as necessary to know Hebrew as Greek it self*; which gave me Occasion to say; *that it is not possible to imagine, that he could use any other Phrase in this Place, than the old Reading which our Critic has rejected*. But to make this Point still plainer, I will prove it to him for once in *his own Way* of Reasoning, which he is every where *so fond of*; and shew him, that besides these *Arguments a priori*, which are as strong and convincing as the Nature of such Proof will admit, we have *Fact and Demonstration a posteriori* to prove the Truth of what I am asserting: For in the *only other Place of this Apostle's Writings*, where he has Occasion to use *this Phrase*, he uses likewise the *very same Words* ἐν|εὐθεν καὶ ἐν|εὐθεν, *John xix. 18.*] without any *disputed or various Reading* at all upon it. But this our *Editor* takes not the *least notice of*, thinking it either

[a] Minus quàm cæteri Evangelistæ Græcè locutus est; Hebraicis phrasibus abundat, ut Hebraici Sermonis peritia, non minus quàm Græci, ad sensum sententiarum assequendum sit necessaria. Cardinal. Tolet Argum. Comm. in Joan.

*Some farther REMARKS on the Proposals,*  
 of *too little Moment* to be answered by him,  
 or of *too much*; the Reader may judge which.

And now let us consider, what he has to say in *Defence of his Reading*. He first tells us,  
 \* p. 42. \* *that the Sense of either does not differ in a Tittle, which is so far from being an Excuse for him, that it is even quite the contrary: For what Occasion had he then to change a Passage, which all the Editors before him had allowed to be genuine; and which is the constant Phrase of the sacred Writers; in order to foist in a new Expression of his own, which is not so much as once to be found in all the Scriptures, either of the Old or New Testament? He tells us besides,*  
 † Ibid. † *that St. Jerom in his Latin Version of the Hebrew, varied the Phrase, and translated [mippo umippo] ten times [hinc & inde] for once [hinc & hinc]. And what does he get by this, but to prove onely that this Father, in his Translation, did not in Fact stick so closely to the very Words, as he would make us believe; and that if we were to follow his Latin so scrupulously, as he would persuade us, it would, as I have said, lead us onely to corrupt, instead of correcting the Text? But his main Excuse is, that he was governed here by Authority, in the making the Alteration; that is, he found eight Manuscripts, as he shews in his Notes, which declared for it; and yet he might find without doubt, if he pleases, at least twice the Number declaring against it. But supposing still,*

still, that *all the Copies* were agreed in his Favour, yet in the *third Verse of the Latin*, we find him over-ruling the *united Testimony of all the Manuscripts in the World*, for *Reasons* which he calls as *convincing* \* and *cogent as any Autho-* \* p. 37:  
*rity*; and yet he will not pretend that those *Reasons* are *half so cogent*, as what I have produced in this very Instance directly *against him*. But *he has had an Opportunity*, he tells us, † *to* † p. 40:  
*hear one of the best Judges in England say, after he had carefully read over his Specimen, that of his sixty Changes of the Text, there was not one but what should be there, as every knowing Man would allow.* And yet here I will still join issue with him; and if he can produce *one Man* (excepting *two or three of Trinity College*) that passes either for a *wise or learned one*, who will declare *this very Emendation* to be *just*, and *preferable to the old Reading*; nay, who will not own it to be *spurious and corrupt*; I promise not to say *one Word* more against *his Edition*, nay to be content *even to subscribe for it myself*.

In the 8th Verse, we find in *Stephens's Text*,  
 καὶ ὅτε ἤκουσα καὶ ἔβλεψα ἔπεσα προσκυνῆσαι ἔμ-  
 προσθεν τῶν ποδῶν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ] where, as I  
 have already observed, he has changed [ἔβλεψα  
 into ἔβλεπον] contrary, we see, to the Con-  
 struction of *the two other Verbs*, to which it is  
 joined in the same Sentence, immediately before  
 and after it, and yet without assigning *the least*

*Reason*, or producing so much as a *single Authority* for it; but whilst he is altering here so *arbitrarily*, it is strange that he should take no notice of the *very next Word* [ἐπεσα] a *Word*, so far from being one of his *polite and elegant ones*, that it can hardly be counted *Greek*; and tho' we find it sometimes in the *Scripture*, yet never, I believe, *without a various Lexion*; and in this *very Place the Complutensian Edition* and *some Manuscripts* have instead of it ἐπεσον.

But the *chief Emendation* we find here is still the *most unaccountable*; being evidently *false and ridiculous*, viz. πρὸ ποδῶν instead of ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν] the *Hebrew Phrase* on this Occasion is, *before the Face of his Feet*. St. *John* sometimes uses the *very Hebraism*; as Rev. iii. 9. προσκυνήσωσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σῆ.] sometimes *that*, which comes the *nearest to it*; the *very Expression*, which our Editor here rejects, as in this *same Book of Revelation*, xix. 10. καὶ ἐπεσον ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνήσαι] without any *difference of Reading*, observed upon it in any *Author or Manuscript* whatsoever. But our *judicious Critic*, without any *Regard to*, or indeed any *Notion of the Apostolic Style*, has thought fit to change the *Phrase of the Text*, into [πρὸ ποδῶν] an *Expression wholly unknown to the sacred Penmen*; not once to be met with in the *New Testament*; and yet he has no *better Authority* for the *strange Freedom*



dom he is pleased to take, than *that of a single Manuscript*. But his old Argument, *scribe meo periculo* ; which is of so much Use to him in his *Criticisms on profane Authors* ; must be understood likewise here, to supply the Defect of his other cogent Reasons.

In the 5th Verse, instead of the common Reading, κ̅ χρείαν ἐκ ἔχου λύχνα κ̅ φωτὸς ἡλίου] he has given us, κ̅ ἐκ ἔχουσιν χρείαν φωτὸς λύχνα κ̅ φωτὸς ἡλίου] with what Justice I shall not at present examine ; all that I would now observe upon it is, that for the Support of *this Alteration* he has *falsely alledged the Authority of the Coptic Version* ; which I find to be *directly against him*, as appears by the *Translation of it*, published by Dr. Wilkins, where *this Passage* runs thus ; *neque opus habent lumine in illâ, neque lumine solis.*

In this Verse likewise the *common Editions* have φωτίζεῖ αὐτοὺς] *illuminat illos* ; which our Editor has thought fit to change, with no great Reason, into φωτίζει *illuminabit*] but this might perhaps have been allowed him, if it were not for the other Part of his *Emendation*, supported by the slender Authority of a single Manuscript only and a Modern Greek Author, viz. φωτίζει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, instead of αὐτοὺς] which is another new Phrase of his own, never once made use of by the sacred Writers, who constantly express themselves without one Instance that I can find

to the contrary, in the *very Form and Manner of Construction*, which he here rejects; as St. John again particularly, in the Chapter before the Specimen, xxi. 23. ἐφώτισεν αὐτὴν] and in his Gospel, i. 9. φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον.] Surely there never was a truer κακοζηλία than this; a more senseless, absurd Affeetation of altering contrary to all Reason, Judgment and Authority, as if the Merit of an Edition depended meerly on the Number of the Alterations it exhibited; but he had a Mind, I presume, to demonstrate by Experiment the Truth of an Assertion he had formerly made [a], that if we were to put all the thirty thousand Readings into the Hands of a Knave or a Fool, yet with the most sinistrous and absurd Choice he could not extinguish the Light of any one Chapter.

In the 11th Verse we read, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ἔτι, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἁγιασθήτω] where instead of [δικαιοθήτω] he has put [δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω] into the Text, as the Complutensian Editors had done before him. But tho' there is, I confess, the Shew of great Authority for the Truth of this Emendation, yet it seems still very clear to me, that [δικαιοθήτω] is the true, original Reading; and that the other crept pretty early into the Text from the Margin, where it had been placed by way of Paraphrase or Explanation; which Dr. Mill has intimated likewise

[a] Vid. Rem. on Freethink. part 1. p. 76.

in *his* Notes as *his* Opinion. It is to *such* Marginal Notes, as I have before observed, that we owe most of the Interpolations of the sacred Text : And 'tis likewise hardly credible, that a Phrase of so difficult and obscure Meaning as [δικαιωθήτω] could ever juggle out of its Place, one that was clear and obvious, and which no Transcriber could boggle at ; but the contrary is very probable, and very common, in all such Cases, throughout the Scriptures. The Latin Translator, whose Business was to regard the Sense, would naturally give us what he found in the Margin, or what occurred perhaps to himself as the *only* Meaning of the Passage ; and so might prove afterwards the main Authority for taking into the Text, what at first was but a Paraphrase upon it. But what above all confirms me in this Opinion, is the very Authority of St. Cyprian, which our Editor hath produced to confirm the contrary. He tells us, that St. Cyprian interprets this Passage by [*justus justiora faciat adhuc*] But he either does not know, or is pleased to conceal, how the last Part of the Sentence is likewise rendred by him, viz. [*similiter & qui sanctus est sanctiora*] which makes it evident and certain that both the Branches of this Sentence stood in the same Form and Construction with each other in St. Cyprian's Copy ; and that [ὁ δικαιῶσθαι δικαιοσύνην] was read as undoubtedly by him, as [ὁ ἁγιάσθαι ἁγιασθήτω] which last no body disputes.

But what is *most remarkable* in this Place, is to find him *once more* *falsly* producing the *Authority of the Coptic Version*, in Confirmation of *this Reading* ; when it is in Fact *directly* *contrary* to it ; agreeing altogether with *that of Stephens*, as translated by the *Gentleman* above-mentioned, *viz.* [*justus justificet se, sanctus sanctificet se*] thus like an *experienced Officer*, by a *false Muster-roll* of Authorities, he gains the *Pay* and *Credit* of Forces, he cannot produce ; but he was confident here, again, I warrant ye, that *by keeping his own Counsel*, he should have rendred all Discovery impracticable, yet the Observation was made and communicated to his Friends, (as I was accidentally informed) by a *Learned Foreigner* residing at *Oxford*, who was without doubt not a *little surprized* to catch an *Editor of the New Testament* (if we could believe it to have been wilful or designed) in such a Fact and Instance of so plain a Falsification. 'Tis such a *scandalous Imposition* upon the World, as every *ingenuous Person* must needs abhor : if other Writers were to allow themselves such Liberties, what *Faith*, what *Credit* could there be among *Men of Letters* ? But if any one will chuse rather to look upon it as a *pure Mistake*, and (what our Editor will hardly thank him for) to have been done *ignorantly* ; 'tis however such a *gross Instance of Negligence*, as could not be excused in the *Edition of a profane Author* ; much less in a  
Design



Design so important as this, where *the Blunder* must be perpetrated to *latest Posterity*, in a *Work* already consecrated by its *Author*, as a *Charter*, and *Magna Charta* to the whole *Christian Church*.

When our Editor shall find himself able to answer these *further Remarks* upon his *Specimen and Proposals*, I shall endeavour to exercise him still, with a *few more* of the same Kind. In the mean while, the Reader cannot help seeing through *the shallow Artifice* of his taking the *last Chapter of the Revelations*, for *the Specimen of his Edition*; to persuade us, that *the whole Work* is already done, and nothing wanting but the Encouragement of *Contributions* for the *sending of it to the Press*. This, he imagined, would make the World *crowd in* upon him with *their Subscriptions*, to secure to themselves as early as possible a *Treasure so valuable*. Yet it is more than probable, that this is *the onely Chapter of the Book*, which he has so much as attempted: For we may gather from an *unwary Confession* he made, when \* *excusing the Blunders* \* p. 19. of his *Specimen*; that he has not yet wrote out *the first foul Draught of his Design*. But as he learnedly expresses himself, † *Res ipsa loquetur*, † p. 14. *the Work will shew it self*: For if he had got thro' the *rest of the New Testament*, or had but read it over, with common Care and Observation, he could not have acquitted himself *here so blunderingly*; or if he had examined *onely the*  
very

very Writings of St. John, he could not possibly have mistaken ἐνέειθεν καὶ ἐκείθεν· φωτίζει ἐπ' αὐτὸς προσκυνήσας πρὸ ποδῶν· for the Style of the Apostle.

And now, after all the Pains and Labour of this mighty Critic, he is like to leave the sacred Text just as disputable and uncertain as he found it; and it will still be as easy for other People to make free with and expose his Readings, as it was for him to find fault with Stephens's; whilst all the Service that the Christian World can expect from this celebrated Performance, is to have the Text of Scripture made strange, awkward, and new to us, by a Number of Alterations; many of which will be found at last to be false; more questionable; and all (by his own Confession) insignificant.

Our Editor concludes his Book with a very subtle Dilemma, or one of his cleft-stick

\* P. 31. \* Arguments, that catches a Man on both sides. If they will needs, says he, attack an Edition before it's begun, let them put their Names to their Work; if they do not, they shall have no Answer; and if they do, they will need none. I have already had the Honour of an Answer from him even without my Name; but the Discovery of it, I find, is like to alter the Case, and make me forfeit at once all Merit and Pretence to the same Favour again. Being conscious however of no Offence that my Name has ever given;

given; nor of *any Infamy* upon it, to make it *odious* to any Man but *himself*, I am not at all ashamed of producing it. And since it is, as he says, † *to die with me*, and *be buried shortly in* † p. 9: *Oblivion*; he must excuse me the reasonable Ambition of making the most I can of it *whilst I live*; and that I may have *some Chance* for being known likewise *to Posterity*; I am resolved to fasten my self *upon him*, and *stick as close to him* as I can, in hopes of being dragged at least by *his great Name* out of my *present Obscurity*, and of finding some Place, though an humble one, in the *future Annals* of his Story.

And being willing, before we part, to give him all the Encouragement I can towards *answering me*, I here promise, that let him be as *severe* or *scurrilous* as he pleases upon my *Person*, *Morals* or *Learning*, I will not make my self *so mean*, as to *take the Law* of him, or *prosecute Printer, Publisher, or Author*; I shall be content to vindicate my Character with *the proper Weapons of a Scholar*, and do *myself Justice* as well as I can; being ambitious of *no greater Reputation* in the World, than what I shall find my *self* always very well able to defend.





*A TABLE of some of our Editor's  
apparent Contradictions and false  
Assertions observed in the forego-  
ing REMARKS.*

*In the first Paragraph of  
his Proposals.*

**T**HE Printed Co-  
pies of the New  
Testament, both of the  
Original Greek and  
Vulgar Latin are taken  
from Manuscripts of  
no great Antiquity—  
recent and interpolated.

**C***astigatissima omni  
ex parte vetustis-  
simaque Exemplaria pro  
Archetypis haberemus,  
quorum tam Græcorum  
quàm Latinorum multi-  
plicem copiam, &c. Præf.  
Bibl. Complut.*

*Tantæ prætereà ve-  
tustatis ut fidem eis ab-  
rogare nefas videatur.  
Prol. ibid.*

*Adhibitis in consilium  
utriusque linguae codi-  
cibus, nec iis sanè qui-  
buslibet, sed vetustissi-  
mis simul & emendatissi-  
mis. Erasmi. ad Leo X.*

*Codices ipsâ vetusta-  
tis specie pæne adoran-  
dos. Rob. Steph.*

Our Editor in his  
Letter to Dr. Mill says,  
*Infinitam vim codicum  
MSS. curiosè excussisti.*

And speaking of  
some onely of his MSS.  
*Atque hæc quidem talia  
Exemplaria, cum aliis  
omnibus ubivis gentium,  
quod sciamus longè lon-  
gèque & dignitate &  
tempore antecedant ne-  
que quidquam hodiè su-  
perfit simile aut secun-  
dum.*

*In his Third Paragraph.*

A Labyrinth of thirty thousand various Readings, which crowd the Pages of our present best Editions, all put upon equal Credit, to the Offence of many good Persons.

*In his Remarks on the  
Free-thinkers.*

Dr. Mill, if we are to believe not onely this wise Author, but a wiser Doctor, has been labouring to make the Text of Scripture precarious, by scraping together such an immense Number of various Readings, as amount to above thirty thousand. *Part 1. p. 1.*

Several Priests of greater Zeal than Knowledge have oft by false Alarms frightened others. *Ib.*

Had the learned Dr. Whitby, and the greater Part of the Clergy,

What is it your *Whitby* so inveighs and exclaims against? *Ib.*

which

which from his Alarm took that Offence, no common Sense at that Time? p. 32.

*Paragraph the Third.*

All the various Readings put upon equal Credit to the Offence of many good Persons.

That the Readings in Dr. *Mill's* Edition, which accompany the Text, are put upon equal Credit, without Rejection or Preference, (except in some Places that make the present Points of Controversy) is certain and notorious.

*Paragraph the Third.*

The Author believes, that he has retrieved (except in very few Places) the true Exemplar of *Origen*.

In his Invective against my dead Friend he was suddenly seized with a Pannic, and under his Concern for the Text did not at all reflect what the Word really means. p. 68.

*Page 41, 42.*

Speaking of the single Chapter of his Specimen, he proves; that Dr. *Mill* has actually distinguished four Readings as true; three others as false; and one as dubious; all which relate to no Point of Controversy whatsoever.

And he may find, if he pleases, many more distinguished by him in the very Notes, which accompany the Text of this Chapter, v. 5, 6, 11, 14, 18.

*In his Specimen.*

He has produced but three Readings from *Origen*, and rejects them all as false.

*Para-*

*Paragraph the Fourth.*

The Author gives in his Notes all the various Readings now known, within the five first Centuries, and what has crept into the Copies since, is of no Value or Authority.

*In his Specimen.*

He has omitted several Authorities of the five first Centuries, which Dr. *Mill* has given, as *Hilarius*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, v. 2, 5, 14. besides some of the old Versions.

He has cited *Arethas* about thirty times, who lived near the middle of the sixth Century; *Greg. Palamas*, who lived in the 14th; the Complutensian Edition very often, and even *Erasmus*.

*Paragraph the Fifth.*

The Author is very sensible, that in the sacred Writings there's no Place for Conjectures; and he does not alter one Letter in the Text without Authorities subjoined in the Notes; and places under each Column the smallest Variation from the Greek of *Stephanus* and Latin of the two Popes.

*In his Specimen.*

He has in the second Verse and elsewhere made some literal Alterations, without any account of them at all in his Notes: in the third Verse of the Latin he has made an Emendation contrary to all the MSS. he ever saw; and in the fifth Verse has made another verbal one in the



Page 43.

Neither Dr. Mill nor any of the other Editors take any Notice in their Collation of Manuscripts of the Order of the Words.

Page 42.

*Arethas* lived about the fourth or fifth Century.

Page 14.

Dr. Mill never once dreamt of the excellent Use of the Latin Vulgate, or ever collated one.

the Greek, without the least Reason or Authority whatsoever subjoined or produced for it.

Mill. Prolegom. p. 132.

*Exemplar ipsum quod attinet, descriptum est literis—in quibus sedulo à scriptore cautum est, ut Græca & Latina sibi invicem responderent, verbum ferè verbo, servato plerumque eodem ipso verborum ordine.*

M. Du Pin, Dr. Cave, Dr. Mill, and all who place him the earliest, say, that he lived near the middle of the sixth, others say, not till the tenth Century.

Mill. Prolegom. p. 142.

*Veterem Novi Testamenti Italicam summâ veneratione prosequimur, ejusque vel semessa fragmenta auro contra non cara ducimus. Restat jam ipsius Hieronymi inspiciamus Exemplar. ib. p. 81.*

Page

Page 18.

Of all which, Dr. Mill, with his incredible Diligence, knew no more than our Cenfor.

Dr. Mill took all that heap of vicious Copies for one, and superstitiously and ignorantly made it his Idol, p. 26.

A Piece of the most unfortunate and erroneous Critick that ever saw the Light, p. 26.

The most recent, the most vile, the most contemptible of all MSS. have some Share in the Honour of his genuine Readings, p. 33.

*Quis sanus* would argue at this rate?

In his Printed Letter to Dr. Mill.

*Tu verò, Milli doctissime, qui omnium mortalium maximè in eo studio versatus es.*

*Nisi vererer coràm in os Te laudare, dicerem quàm longo intervallo aliorum omnium in eo genere laboris post te reliqueris.*

*Te unum in hoc curriculum vocamus.*

*Omnia S. Patrum scripta, omnes antiquas versiones, & infinitam vim codicum MSS. curiosè excussisti.*

As Scaliger, Casaubon, Heinsius, &c. when they designed to publish a correct Edition of an Author, first laboured to procure all the MSS. they could hear of, as the onely He

He follows such scrub MSS. and such scoundrel Copies, as our Master would scorn to look into, p. 33, 34.

Means that promised laudable Success, so Dr. Mill proceeded in the same Method. *Free-th.* p. 74.

Omissions, the Doctor's peculiar Foible, p. 41.

Dr. Mill an accurate Examiner of MSS. p. 68.

*Amicus Millius, sed magis amica veritas,* p. 26.

The Learned, Dr. Mill, (whose Friendship and Memory will ever be dear to me) meets with a sorry Recompence for his long Labour of 30 Years. *Free-th.* p. 1. p. 61.

Page 27.

Four or five extant Copies of the Greek are older than any Latin one; but for Copies (of the New Testament) of a thousand Years of Age, there are twenty Latin ones preserved for one Greek.

*Jac. le Long*, a learned and most curious Enquirer after all the MSS. of the Bible, in his Catalogue of 100 of the best and oldest Latin MSS. now known in the World, tells us of none older than *Theodulpbus's* A.D. 790. mentions another of the Year 795. and

Page 20.

St. *Jerom* translated into Latin a complain-

ing Letter from *Epi-  
phanus* to *Chrysostom*,  
and was charged with  
warping the Words  
to *Chrysostom's* Pre-  
judice.

a third, of which he  
doubts, reputed to be  
1000 Years old. *Vid.*  
*le Long Bibl. sacr.*  
*Par. 1709. it. M.*  
*Martin's Defence of*  
*his Dissert. in Eng.*  
p. 14.

This Letter of *Epi-  
phanus*, translated by  
*Jerom*, was not wrote  
to *Chrysostom*, but to  
*John* Bishop of *Jeru-  
rasalem*, to admonish  
him to quit the Errors  
of *Origen*. *V. Hier.*

*The End of the Third Volume.*



